

New Republic



JAN. 6, 1947

A Time

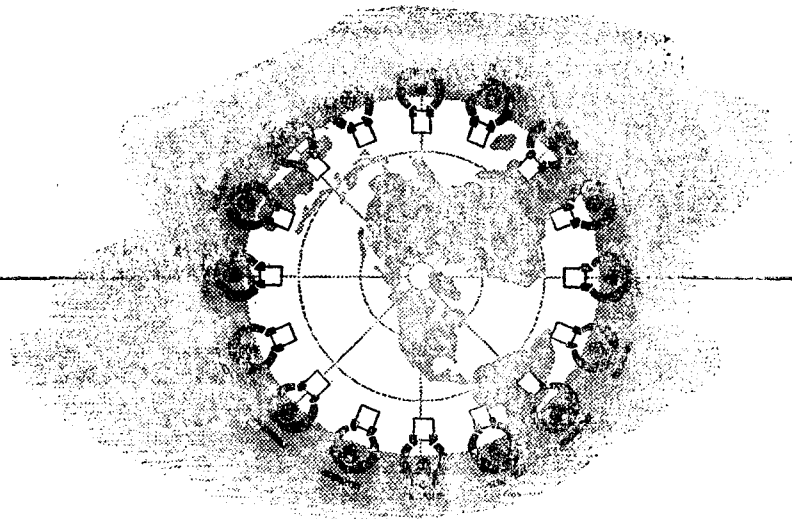
for

Action

***Henry A. Wallace* EDITOR**

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Time Announces



A Report from the World

**AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM UNDER THE JOINT SPONSORSHIP OF
TIME, THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE, AND THE COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS
CLEVELAND, OHIO JANUARY 9, 10, and 11, 1947**

Purpose: to put before America the facts surrounding two urgent questions of our day:

What does the world expect of America?

What is America going to do about it?

Representatives from abroad will report what their countries expect of us—in leadership, trade, attitudes... U.S. spokesmen will reply.

Report from the World is the 21st Annual Institute of the Council on World Affairs, renowned Cleveland organization devoted to community education in world affairs.

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Mouvement Republicain Populaire

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A Journal of Opinion

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Letter of the Week

As Sinatra Sees It

Henry A. Wallace, Esq.

Sir:

I am writing this on December 7. There are only 14 more shopping days, just two more frantic Saturdays, till Christmas. I happened to be on Fifth Avenue this morning, in one of the big department stores, as who wasn't? But I looked at the faces of the people. . . .

It's hard to realize that on the second Pearl Harbor Day, in this time of so-called peace, only five years after that brutal Sunday when a Philharmonic concert was rocked by the shocking fragments of news flung from blasted Hickam Field, people's faces look almost as they looked in 1929.

Now, as then, the prices are high. People are kicking about them, but paying them. Now, as then, the youngsters are a problem and the dancing is exhausting. Now, as then, a party to whom considerable has happened in the past 17 years wonders what's going on, with the same ingrown, inexplicable fear he felt as a kid. Only as a kid it was obvious to me that the fear had to do with the insecurity of my future. Today the fear seems to have more to do with the insecurity of everybody's future.

What little knowledge I've absorbed in the past 17 years has not come easy. But the first thing I ever learned still seems to be the most important thing that ever got through to me. And that is that a bunch of kids bound together in the unfashionable fraternity of economic insecurity aren't going to mingle their discontents very successfully unless they mingle them with mutual respect. Mutual respect, whether it's on the slum level of one little kid for another or at the top of the ladder where it's one government for another, one race for another or one belief for another, is nothing but tolerance.

If this is the only thing I ever learn, I'm grateful. Because I believe not many men learn even one thing they can live

(Continued on page 46)

short story contest

for war veterans now attending college

New Republic is holding a short-story writing contest for war veterans of both sexes now attending college under the GI Bill of Rights

First Prize \$500 Second Prize \$250

five additional prizes of \$50 each

thirty additional prizes of a one-year subscription to the New Republic

In addition, all stories published will be paid for at the New Republic's regular rate.

The purpose of this contest is to help discover fresh, authentic voices among veterans of the recent war who are now attending colleges or other institutions of higher learning, with a classification at least as high as that of regularly enrolled freshmen. Graduate students of all types are included.

Stories or sketches may be on any subject, and any length up to 1,800 words. They should be submitted, typed on one side of the paper, with the name and address of the author included, to SHORT STORY CONTEST, the New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Manuscripts will not be

returned. The New Republic will buy first serial rights only, for a period of two years, after which all rights will revert to the author.

The contest opened December 1, 1946, and closes January 31, 1947. Envelopes must bear a postmark not later than the latter date.

No proof of status is required at the time manuscript is submitted, but successful contestants must be prepared to prove that at the time of submission they were attending college under the GI Bill of Rights.

The editors of the New Republic will be the judges in the contest. The results will be announced, and the prize-winning stories published, as soon as practicable after January 31, 1947.



News In Focus

The GOP Takes Over

Congress

COCKY AND CONFIDENT in the memory of November election victories, but with a wary eye fixed on the 1948 presidential race, the Republicans this week take up their luscious burden as rulers of the 80th Congress. Reading the election as a "mandate" to operate on labor and the New Deal, the GOP leaders nevertheless betrayed preliminary signs of extreme caution and an urgent desire to maneuver Harry S. Truman into doing as much of the dirty work for them as possible.

The personalities most in the news, as the Republicans strove to split up lush committee chairmanships without provoking party rows, were Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, House Speaker-to-be Joseph Martin of Massachusetts and other familiar Old Guardsmen. Actually, specific congressional actions would depend equally on a large group of less well known politicians whose common characteristic, particularly in the House, is a rural, conservative background. The Southern Democrats, who have run the committees since 1933, are replaced by a group of senior Republicans differing only formally in viewpoint and experience.

Leo Allen, prospective chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, has been elected repeatedly from a northern Illinois district with little major industry. Charles A. Halleck, candidate for Republican floor leader, comes from a district rambling over 12 Indiana counties. Jesse Wolcott, who will head the banking committee, represents a Michigan district outside major CIO strongholds. Another characteristic of House Republican leaders is that in general they reflect the less populous

districts of their states; city voters, because of state failures to redistrict equitably, are under-represented.

It will be worthwhile to watch the extent to which new and more "liberal" Republicans in the 80th Congress will challenge the dominant leadership. Much of the pre-season intraparty shooting at Taft, White of Maine, Halleck and Joe Martin has come from outright reactionaries such as Senator Wherry of Nebraska and Clare Hoffman of Michigan. But Senator-elect Irving M. Ives of New York, presumably a spokesman of Governor Dewey, attacked the Case anti-labor bill which President Truman vetoed last session. And Harry Cain of Washington presumably would line up on the liberal side on public power, and might even support Senator Morse of Oregon against monopolies and union-busting.

As the session goes on, three Republican groups may emerge—the Wherry-Brooks isolationist-reactionaries, the Taft-Vandenberg middle-of-the-roaders and a handful of liberals fighting sporadically on individual issues.

Waiting Game

Congress

THE REPUBLICANS are waiting cagily for President Truman's messages on the state of the Union, the budget and employment before committing themselves to a specific GOP program. They will be delighted if, as with price controls and the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program, he maneuvers himself into appeasing the vociferous opponents of the New Deal. If, in the bargain, they stampede him into conservative appointments to the federal bench and crucial government agencies, that will be so much gravy.

The GOP congressional majority could thus sweep away the remnants of the New Deal without the onus of a direct attack.

In the 80th Congress, the Republicans hope to retain Southern Democratic support against public housing, broadened social security, medical insurance and higher minimum wages. Some Republican liberals say the party leaders are so anxious for such support that they won't even capitalize on their chance to recapture the solid Northern Negro vote by driving through an anti-poll-tax bill and an effective fair-employment-practice bill. One Republican leader tells of a Southern Democrat (privately pleased that his Northern party colleagues had been beaten) who warned that if the GOP didn't "stay conservative" the Southerners themselves would "move up North, take over the conservative vote and run the country for 10 years."

There is little likelihood that GOP congressmen will be tempted to abdicate. Nebraska's Senator Wherry wants to abolish rent controls. Representative Wolcott (Mich.) opposes public housing. Large sections of the Case bill, including a provision to make union treasuries liable for contract breaches, are scheduled for early enactment. "Major" anti-union laws, GOP leaders say, will depend on long hearings, but if big strikes break this winter drastic action is likely to follow fast.

Republicans, moreover, will be little concerned with strengthening New Deal cushions against the threat of a new depression after the postwar boom. Wayne Morse's anti-monopoly bill hasn't a chance. The Republicans do not seem impressed with official reports showing that during the war the poor stayed poor and the wealth and economic power remained concentrated. If

a new minimum-wage bill, raising the present 40-cent level, should be passed by the Senate it would still have to get by a more conservative House. Hostility toward "government interference with business" will be no less in a House under Republican control than it was under the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition of the last session.

Portal-to-Portal

Labor

THE HIGHEST-PAID corporation lawyers in the country have converged upon Washington to prepare a common defense against labor's billion-dollar claims for retroactive portal-to-portal wages. Labor lawyers are amazed that industry's big legal brains have been so slow on the draw.

Since September, labor unions have filed suits for well over \$1 billion for back pay they claim is due under the Wage-Hour Act. The claims grow out of a decision handed down by the Supreme Court last June in a case involving the Mount Clemens (Michigan) Pottery Company. The decision (an extension of the doctrine laid down in a previous portal-to-portal pay case involving miners) ruled that travel and preparatory time, time spent on company premises in changing clothes, etc., must be considered actual work time. The principle was unmistakably clear. The only question left open by the Mount Clemens case was how much the courts would make industry pay.

The corporation lawyers were dozing last June. They paid no mind to the Mount Clemens decision, allowed the CIO lawyers to push the case through and made no move at all to participate in the motion for reconsideration offered by the counsel for the pottery company. The CIO lawyers debated from June until September over what to do with the powerful weapon they had been handed.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act every employee in interstate commerce is entitled to time-and-a-half pay for all work over 40 hours per week. Most of the portal-to-portal back pay will fall into this premium class, since long hours were the rule during the war years. In September the United Steelworkers' ex-

ecutive board plunged ahead and instructed its general counsel to inform all local unions of their rights under the Mount Clemens decision. The same information went to attorneys for other CIO unions. The suits began. Under the Wage-Hour Act, any group of employees is permitted to start its own lawsuit. From here on the situation was out of the hands of national CIO and AFL staffs.

The corporation lawyers have decided that their best chance of curbing the suits at this late date is by legislation. The legal staffs of the NAM and the US Chamber of Commerce have been busy drafting bills and advising sympathetic congressmen on how best to do the job. A few of the more impetuous attorneys favor drastic legislation that would bar all back claims, including those for which suits have already been filed. Soberer counsels generally believe that such action would be unconstitutional and in the long run would only further complicate industry's position. These strategists prefer a bill similar to the one introduced by Representative John Gwynne (R, Iowa) in the last session, setting a time limit for filing future suits of this nature.

Meanwhile the federal government is a most interested onlooker. The federal treasury will be the loser if industry settles the claims and seeks proportionate tax rebates. Renegotiated and cost-plus war contracts may have to be reexamined, with financial loss to the government virtually assured in advance.

Nationalized Mines

London

ON New Year's Day the British people officially became owners of the coal mines upon which their national well-being depends. Aneurin Bevan once described this island as a lump of coal surrounded by fish. The whole vast complex of British economy and power rests on that lump of coal. More than 600,000 Britons are actively engaged in hewing it out of the surrounding earth to feed the nation's factories and transport system. The success of the Labor Party for a generation to come may be decided by the success or failure of the nationalization experiment.

The man primarily responsible for delivering the coal is Emanuel Shinwell, tart-tongued former tailor who once ousted Ramsay MacDonald from a parliamentary seat representing a north-eastern mining constituency. Shinwell, like Aneurin Bevan, was a chronic thorn in the flesh of Churchill during the life of the wartime coalition. Now that Labor is in power, Shinwell has the toughest task of any confronting his Labor colleagues. Under him a network of regional and national boards will run the newly nationalized industry. Another key man in the new setup will be Arthur Horner, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers and a leading member of the Communist Party. Horner's job will be to help renovate miners' morale—one of the most vital prerequisites of increased coal output.

Already Shinwell has a truckload of seasonal difficulties. The giant Austin automobile factories are threatened by a shutdown as the result of a coal shortage. Stringent fuel economies are likely to be imposed on nonessential industries in order to keep the fires burning in those producing for export.

Report on Bilbo

Washington

REASONS APLENTY to bar Senator Theodore G. Bilbo from Congress were set forth in the Senate War Investigating Committee's report on the curious transactions which went on between war contractors and The Man from Mississippi. In compiling 564 brimming pages of the testimony of 44 witnesses, the committee declared that the evidence "clearly indicates that Senator Bilbo improperly used his high office as United States Senator for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors."

The committee's own report on Bilbo included an imposing chart of the charity handouts—painting and furnishings for Dream Houses one and two, an artificial lake and island, a Cadillac sedan and a swimming pool, adding up to cash values of \$57,089 (minimum), or \$88,721 (maximum). The investigators found themselves "unable to accept the theory that Senator Bilbo's aid to those

dealing in government contracts and the benefits he received were unrelated."

As to the claim that some \$30,000 of the funds received by Bilbo from contractors were used in Senator Wall Doxey's (D, Miss.) 1914 campaign, the committee took note that the donation of political contributions from government contractors "while they are negotiating or performing such contracts is prohibited by a federal criminal statute." Nor was the committee "convinced by the explanation that the foregoing benefits received by Senator Bilbo from various war contractors were either pure Christmas gifts, or ordinary business transactions, as Senator Bilbo now claims . . . [they are] a mere subterfuge manufactured for the occasion of this committee's hearing. . . . The committee considers Senator Bilbo's acceptance of expensive gifts and donations of personal property and the acceptance of

improvements to real estate, provided by contractors who have profited out of their work for the government in the war effort, to be an illegal practice in violation of existing federal statutes."

Having read these blunt words, the Senate had still to decide what ought to be done. The Constitution requires a two-thirds majority to unseat a Senator. To make the committee report stick and preserve the dignity of the Senate would require a vote cutting across party lines.

Trade Wall

Tariffs

IF THE Truman Administration wants a "bipartisan" foreign policy in the economic, as well as the political, sphere, all it will have to do for a starter is:

1. Scrap the US reciprocal tariff program.

2. Toss out all other ideas for promoting freer world trade.

High-tariff Republicans sounded off on these lines on the eve of the opening of the GOP-controlled 80th Congress. Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska asked Undersecretary of State Will Clayton to suspend tariff-cutting negotiations with other nations until the new Congress had an opportunity "to write a new foreign-trade policy." Representative Bertrand W. Gearhart of California said he would ask the House Ways and Means Committee to launch an immediate investigation into trade policy. Representative Daniel A. Reed of New York was reported ready to reintroduce a bill for outright repeal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

The scurry to rebuild the trade barriers which Cordell Hull labored so long to remove gathered impetus from an unexpected quarter. The Agriculture Commissioners of 13 traditionally low-tariff Southern states joined the Republican chorus by demanding a stop to further tariff cuts. The Southern lobby, abandoning the free-trade arguments of Tennessee's former Secretary of State, said that farm purchasing power required protective levies against foreign competition.

Nations dependent on American markets for their goods long have feared the US would one day end its attempts to reduce trade barriers. These fears account in part for the reluctance of other countries to fall in completely with the US postwar trade program, which contemplates an International Trade Organization and an 18-nation tariff-cutting conference in Switzerland next April. There is a chance, however, that cooler heads than the "bipartisan" coalition of tariff-minded Republicans and Southern Democrats will prevail on the trade issue.

Georgia's Governor

Georgia

EUGENE TALMADGE, the "wild man from Sugar Creek," who would have become Georgia's first fourth-term Governor on January 14, was buried last week in his home-town cemetery. The commissioners of Telfair County immediately announced they would erect a



THAT TARIFF WALL AGAIN!

monument to "our most distinguished son."

Talmadge, who held high the torch of white supremacy during all his 20 years in public offices, was buried in the blue serge suit he would have worn at the inauguration. In its lapel was a white—lily white—narcissus put there because he had always worn one when he took the oath of governor. He had his red suspenders on, and the horn-rimmed glasses, and on his forehead was the unruly forelock that was his trademark. Funeral-home attendants had been unable to slick it down. Among the flowers was a wreath from the "Knights of the KKK."

Surrounded by controversy as Talmadge was in life, so he was in death. Behind him he left an unprecedented struggle for the governorship. The state constitution was vague on the matter of succession under such circumstances. Liberal Governor Ellis Arnall, prohibited from reelection by the constitution, scotched the possibility that he might claim the office on a technicality which requires him to remain in office until his successor is "chosen and qualified." He said he didn't want to serve four more years but that he would stay in office until Georgia's first Lieutenant Governor, M. E. Thompson, was installed.

Talmadge forces, led by Roy V. Harris, lame-duck speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, claimed Herman Talmadge, son and carbon copy of the late Governor-elect, held the only title to the office. They said the legislature has the right to "elect" a governor, under the constitution, from "the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life." Young Talmadge received about a thousand write-in votes in the general election. The next highest number of write-ins went to Charlie Trippi, the University of Georgia's All-American football star.

The most valid claim to the office was held by Thompson, former high-school teacher and recipient of a Rosenwald fellowship. He was Arnall's executive secretary, later his commissioner of revenue, before his election as Lieutenant Governor.

The controversy is certain to reach the courts. Should the legislature "elect"

young Talmadge, Arnall will refuse to vacate the office until Thompson gets a court decision on the validity of the election. If the legislature does not act in his favor, Herman is almost certain to go to law, too.

PCA for Progress

Progressives
A NATIONWIDE "grass-roots" organization to rebuild the political machinery of US progressives was born last weekend at a New York City convention which expressed concern over the increasingly conservative trend of major political parties. Its name: Progressive Citizens of America.

The PCA takes over where the National Citizens' Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (both of which were dissolved at the meeting) left off. To increase the effectiveness of liberal-minded Americans at the polls, the fledgling PCA planned a modest first-year budget of \$150,000. Dr. Frank Kingdon and Jo Davidson, former heads of the NCPAC and the ICCASP, were chosen as temporary co-chairmen.

Dairen "Crisis"

Foreign Affairs
THE SCRIPPS-HOWARD newspapers, with loud assists from others, did their level best last week to whip up a new US-Russian "crisis" for the holiday season. It started the day before Christmas with an angry dispatch from Scripps-Howard correspondent William H. Newton in Shanghai.

A US Navy ship, he wrote, had been given "an oral ultimatum" to get out of the Manchurian port of Dairen on December 20 by a Russian occupation official, who said: "If you do not leave within 20 minutes, we will not be responsible for the consequences."

Soviet forces have occupied Dairen since they seized it from the Japanese at the end of the war. Under a Russian-Chinese treaty, it eventually will become a free port, to be administered by the Chinese.

The small US ship had obtained Soviet permission to put in at Dairen

with supplies and mail for the US consulate general. It was to remain 48 hours. Actually, it stayed two hours overtime while the Consul General, H. Merrell Benninghoff, continued an attempt to obtain Russian permission for Newton, a *Life*-magazine photographer and a Standard Oil Company representative to go ashore. He failed.

When 20 minutes remained of the additional two hours, a Soviet officer on the dock issued his warning. The boat then left.

In two news conferences, Lincoln White, State Department press-relations officer, confirmed the essential facts of the incident, but took some of the hot air out of Newton's dispatch. On the basis of department information, White said:

1. Legally, the Russians were within their rights in ordering the ship to leave, because the area is still under Soviet army control.

2. In his opinion, the "20 minutes" warning was "in no sense an ultimatum" but a statement of fact, since the Soviet official had granted the two-hour stay to the ship "on his own hook," without seeking higher authority, in an attempt to be cooperative.

3. Newton, the photographer and the Standard Oil man had NOT tried to obtain Soviet permission to land at Dairen in advance of the trip.

On Friday, Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson declined to be drawn into a discussion with newsmen on whether the warning could be called an "ultimatum." He said the incident would not be officially closed until the department received a full report from Benninghoff, but he indicated the matter was not being taken too seriously.

These Washington events failed to bring any holiday cheer to correspondent Newton or his Scripps-Howard employers. Trying hard to keep his story alive, Newton said in a dispatch that White's "no-ultimatum" statement would be "a distinct surprise" to the US Navy, which had used that term in reporting the incident. And Scripps-Howard's Washington *Daily News* carried two long editorials blaming a "Red cell" in the Office of Far Eastern Affairs for what it called the State Department's "apologetic tone" in handling the incident.

Encore

Civil Liberties

STRAINS of the old Dies Committee, which once accused Shirley Temple of Communist leanings, hummed from the House Un-American Activities Committee again last week. Representative John Rankin declared war on "pink teachers," and chief counsel Ernie Adamson released an unapproved report charging that American Communists are bent on fomenting "revolution" by a general strike.

Adamson's splurge (which counted 17 Communist-dominated CIO unions) went too far for even Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.), in line for committee chairman. After newspapers had plastered the Adamson report on page one, Thomas rushed to tell the press that Adamson "will not draw one more day's pay if I become chairman."

The 72-page Adamson report accused 12 alien employees of the government of Communist tendencies; named the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "fronts" for Communists "which have as their overall purpose the overthrow of the government." Even the staid staff of the Library of Congress was singled with an accusation that it "has become a haven for aliens and foreign-minded Americans." (There are 10 aliens in the Library.) "We might add," the report

said, "that many native-born and naturalized scholars are looking for such jobs."

Adamson's dismissal is by no means a sign that the committee policy will change under Republican control. On the contrary, Thomas has already unofficially filled his position with Robert E. Stripling, protégé of super-sleuth Martin Dies. Stripling claims he is not yet on the payroll of the committee, but he has been reporting for work at 9:30 a.m. and leaving at 5 p.m. daily.

His first task will be to carry out the investigation which Rankin has begun into cases of "pink professors" who are holding jobs in which they "influence the minds of our young people." According to Rankin, there will be other investigations early in 1947 to remove Communists from the federal payroll and to rake over the movie industry.

Booze and Badinage

Missouri

BY TRADITION, bartenders have always been good listeners. A St. Louis proprietor, confronted with a growing number of customers anxious to solve the world's problems over a drink, has taken steps to make his grog-dispensers intelligent talkers into the bargain.

At Johnny Perkins' Playdium, reports the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, bartenders are now required to attend regular classes on current events. "We want to be sure our boys can talk about some-

thing besides baseball and the ponies," the manager told the press. The first topic covered in the saloon curriculum: the atom bomb.

Baltic Pittsburgh

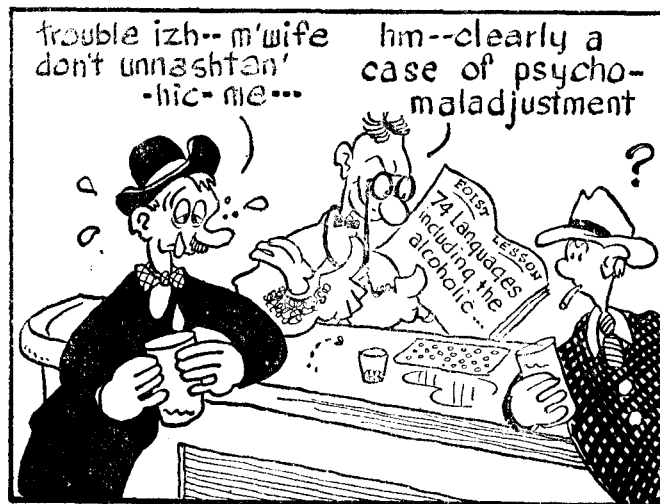
Moscow

WITH the close of the first year of Soviet reconstruction, details have been released of a project which, when completed, is likely to rank among the most signal achievements of Soviet economic expansion. Faced with the problem of providing a new source of metal for Leningrad (where Soviet skilled mechanics are concentrated and which consumed 10 percent of the country's prewar rolled-metal output), the Academy of Science's Ivan Bardin was charged by Stalin during the war to survey northwest Russia's Tundra. Bardin was to blueprint plans for new mining centers, ore-concentration plants and iron and steel foundries extensive enough to feed the city's important machine-building shops.

Hitherto, Leningrad's highly developed machine-building industry has obtained metal from the Ukraine, the Urals and even west of Siberia. The demands of new industrial developments nearer these sources, however, tended to restrict supplies available elsewhere. Consequently Leningrad was obliged to seek its own source of raw materials.

In 1944 a Leningrad-Murmansk expedition investigated the Kola Peninsula's iron-ore resources. It recom-

GOT THE ST. LOUIS BOOZE & OR: THERE'S A SCHOOL THERE THAT TEACHES BARTENDERS TO DISCUSS THE HIGHER THINGS OF LIFE WITH THE CUSTOMERS...



mended opening up mines at Ensn Oye and Olyenegorsk, both within the Arctic Circle south of Murmansk. Leningrad University, where research of low-grade Kola ores had continued during the wartime blockade, reported their phosphorus content was reducible to concentrations fully meeting the production requirements for open-hearth steel.

Meanwhile, 700 miles east of Leningrad, new coal pits were being opened near the Pechora River to replace the overrun Donbass. Here Vorkuta coking coal was earmarked for future furnaces. While the war was still on, a temporary railroad line was laid through Taiga and Tundra, linking the Pechora Basin

with Leningrad. Now, as part of the Baltic project, permanent tracks are being built. On this line there are lonely stretches of 200 miles without a village. Nearer Leningrad prospectors found a concentration of 30 million tons of surface peat in perfect condition for gas-generation plants. Finally, to free the flow of materials, a canal system started by Peter the Great was completed by Stalin and put back into order. Thus, with adequate ore, fuel, gas and transport assured, Bardin reported the situation favorable for selecting a site for Leningrad's new steel mill, and recommended Cherepovets, south of Lake Onega.

This example of vertical planning prior to a vast capital outlay is held by Russians to be impossible under the free-enterprise system. But the Russians have recognized the profit motive in their plans to operate Leningrad's new industrial empire. To encourage initiative and a sense of responsibility in socialized factory management, the government has decided to develop a practice known as a director's fund, whereby enterprises fulfilling their production quotas at or below budgeted cost are allowed to retain a proportion of profits which previously went into state revenue for expenditure on workers' welfare and individual bonuses. The director has wide discretionary powers in the use of the fund, although trade-union sanction is required before any outlays are made. Housing, playing fields, holiday centers and clubs stand high on the priorities list. Soviet experience has shown that the practice serves as an incentive both to management and to rank-and-file workers by providing them means of direct participation in the results of diligent work.

The Morning After

THE HOLIDAY SEASON worked itself up into a Christmas stampede through frenzied stores all over the US. Prices were giddy. So were the customers. The pushing and hauling crowds pushed dollar sales in the nation's department stores to peaks 22 percent above the bonanza levels of 1945. In New York, Macy's rang up over a dozen million-dollar days in December. Merchants reported a record crush to buy long-scarce toys, hosiery and electrical appliances. The spree was on.

But the jag was misleading. Store managers apprehensively took stock of their inventories, bloated in some parts of the country to three times the prewar average. Despite all the free spenders, 60 percent of the rise in sales merely reflected a mark-up on price tags since controls evaporated. Customer resistance was annoying. Buyers shied away from platinum-priced liquors, cosmetics and jewelry. At the summit of the Yuletide rush, store owners rushed into print to advertise price slashes and hasty clearances. In many shops some shelves were still groaning on Christmas Eve.

The morning after Xmas the crack of breaking ice was heard in the land. A Washington store advertised men's white shirts for \$1.98. Fruit juices dropped a nickel a can in Philadelphia; eggs and bacon were cheaper in Boston. In New York, swank Hattie Carnegie advertised "Fine furs . . . at irresistible new prices in keeping with the current trend." Million-dollar Macy's was trying to unload "Swiss white-silk mufflers" with \$7 knocked off the price. Newspapers hawked, "Famous \$65 coats, only \$38" and "\$42.50 hats, now \$22.50."

Was this really the morning after? Government economists were wary. But one predicted that prices would "keep on falling for the next three months for an average of 15 percent." US retail prices had climbed to the highest level on record, reported the Bureau of Labor Statistics, even above the heady inflation after World War I. A quarter of a century ago pork chops had been out of this world at 44 cents; they hit 90 in 1946. If US prices were nosing into a spin, they did not lack for altitude.

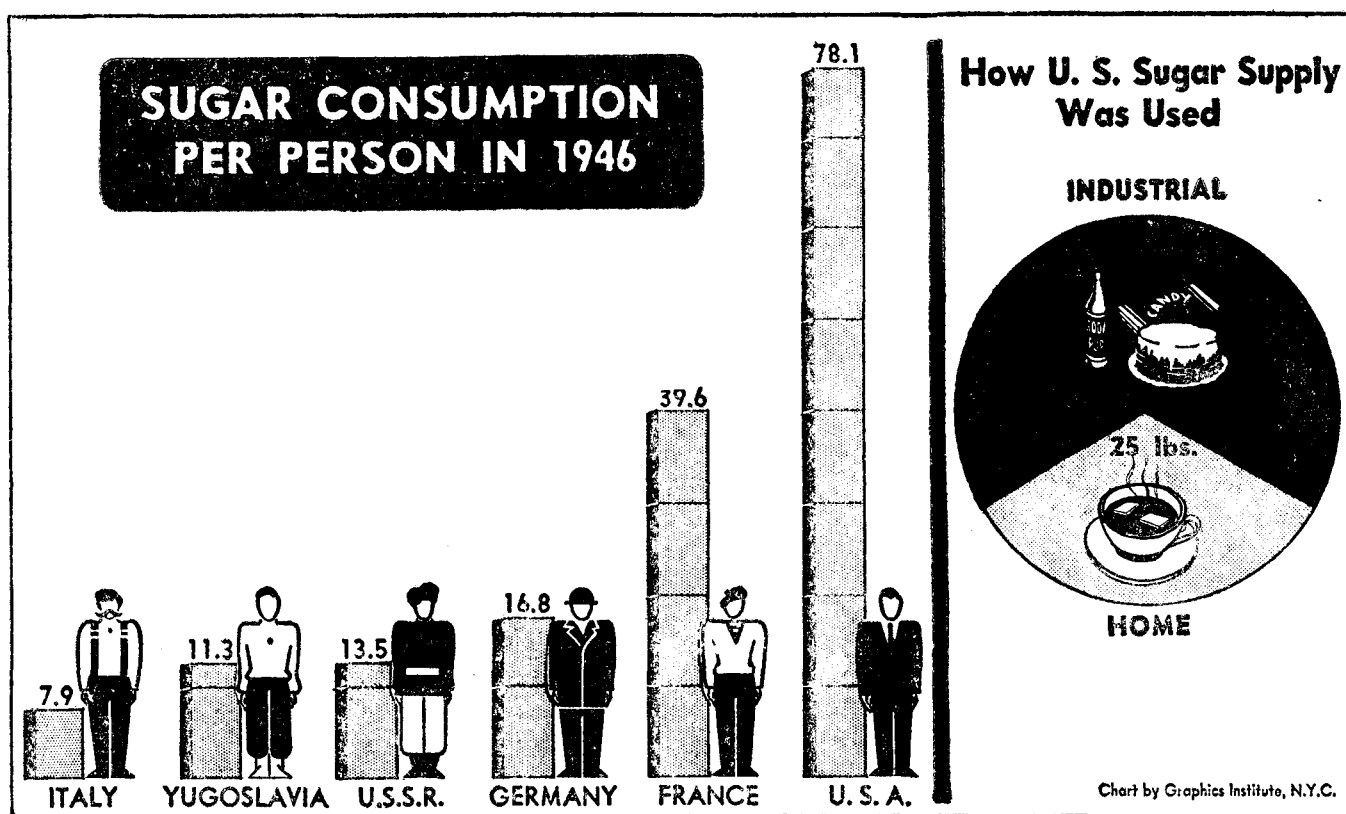
Allen Resignation

The Administration

IT WON'T be generally recognized, but with the resignation of George Allen, the displaced persons of Europe have lost their best advocate at the White House "court."

At home, the effects of the Allen resignation are uncertain. His role in the demise of Wilson Wyatt as Housing Expediter was anything but heroic. Yet Wyatt felt that the trigger on the desertion of the housing program was pulled not by Allen but by other advisers of the President. The roly-poly "jester" was frank about his business connections with Victor Emanuel and the satellite Emanuel Corporations. But there was no evidence that it was Emanuel who colored Allen's tight-fisted policy in the RFC.

Allen came home from a presidential mission to Germany last fall desperately impressed with the urgency and the importance of the problem of displaced persons—a problem which the White House talks about, but has been slow to attack directly. In the privacy of the



evenings in which Harry Truman works over his problems with the inner circle, Allen has been driving hard to get something done—now—in behalf of the approximately one million men, women and children who still are outcasts. During the last two months, what undercover pressure has been exerted at the White House for this cause came from Allen. What scant planning was done to bring about the promised relaxation of immigration restrictions to aid the DP's was done by Allen. There is an irony involved in all this—the irony that the “court jester” of the Truman Administration should be the man, almost the only man, to raise a cry at court in behalf of the dispossessed.

There is no one in Washington naïve enough to believe that in resigning from the RFC Allen also is resigning as a presidential adviser. It was Allen, after all, who arrived at the White House only a little after Truman, when the Vice President found himself rocketed into the presidency. Allen worked to his own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of his friends until last January without formal office. It is to be assumed that he will resume his backdoor relations once he steps out of the RFC next January 16.

Sugar Facts

SUGAR HAS BECOME the object of a sour attempt by one part of the industry to remove all sugar controls and to grab virtually all of the world's supply of export sugar for the US. The campaign is being fed by a Hearst newspaper series against “un-American” shipments of sugar to Europe's emaciated population.

Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, ordinarily mild, became angry enough to write Senator Hatch (D, N. M.) that the brokers behind the “propaganda” campaign “itch to get their fingers into a swirling upward spiral of sugar prices.” Anderson flatly said that controls would be kept and that he would administer the sugar program for the benefit of this country and the world, rather than to serve the speculative interests of the brokers.

There were indications that congressmen have been only partly won over by the industry's siren song. The Republican Food Study Committee, which will have a hand in making party policy on sugar, concedes that to throw sugar into an uncontrolled free market at this time would “almost inevitably result in

tremendous competitive bidding, speculative hoarding and the grabbing of huge stocks by the large sugar-using corporations.”

Hearst papers have charged that Washington “brain-trusters continue to rob American tables to send shipload after shipload of sugar to foreign countries.” In reply, the Department of Agriculture released figures on 1946 sugar consumption which showed that the average US citizen was abundantly satisfied in comparison with energy-starved people abroad (see chart). In addition, the facts are that the lion's share of US sugar has gone not to the housewife's table but to the bottling plants, restaurants and candy vats of commercial users. Although the complaining industries are rationed, enough new firms have entered business so that commercial allotments are now actually 14 percent more of the total supply than in 1941.

Europe shares the supply because US-controlled sugar is all it can buy to supplement its own beet resources. Java and the Philippines are still out of production. In view of these facts the US has agreed to divide part of Cuba's sugar with Europe. At least 1.1 million tons will be necessary in 1947 to keep

European rations at even their scant 1946 level. Except for about 740,000 tons which Cuba will keep, the United States will get most of the remainder of the 5.5 million tons Cuba is expected to produce. That will be enough to give US consumers an extra five-pound stamp next year and to increase the allowance of individual firms from 60 to 70 per cent of prewar consumption.

Veterans' Non-Housing

Housing

THE NON-VETERANS' non-housing program was how Washington described the new Administration building policy. But Frank Creedon, the bluff, ruddy-faced construction man who now is Housing Expediter, and self-effacing Raymond M. Foley, director of the National Housing Agency, blocked in the details of their program in hopes that it might produce some shelter.

To carry out the President's injunction to build more apartments and rental houses for veterans, they planned (1) a new community campaign for the

conversion of old houses into apartments; (2) to simplify the procedures for building apartments; (3) to permit anyone to build a small apartment if he would rent all of it except his own quarters to veterans; (4) to string out payments over 32 years instead of 28; and (5) to let builders add \$3 a room per month for service charges to the \$80 average rental.

On individual houses the pair set only one important restriction. Floor space cannot exceed 1,500 feet. Gone was the \$10,000 ceiling. Creedon conceded that most houses of 1,500-foot floor space would cost at least \$15,000, have three bedrooms and two baths. But because of the continuing shortage of bathroom fixtures, no one may equip more than one bath.

Creedon, who had always wanted to ease up on the limits on commercial and industrial building, held himself in. The \$35 million limit on non-housing construction will remain for the time being, but builders may go ahead on other foundations, steel work and construction that would not compete too directly with materials for homes.

The President and his new administrators had scrapped enough of Wilson W. Wyatt's housing program to kill the congressional urge for an investigation. But other troubles lurked in front of Creedon and Foley. Last week the Federal Public Housing Administration, because of the skyrocketing building costs, was forced to drop 12,000 of the units it had hoped to build for veterans with the \$445 million appropriated by Congress. The cut would have been deeper if the FPHA had not shifted to more dormitories and fewer individual homes.

Bevin Replies

London

FOREIGN SECRETARY Ernest Bevin lost no time upon his return from the US in denying charges by Labor back-benchers that British policy is still haunted by the image of Winston Churchill. Parliament having recessed for the holidays, Bevin went on the air to take the initiative against the rebels within his own party ranks.

"You have all heard allegations that

we are joined too closely in our policies with the United States; that our relations with Soviet Russia are not so close as they should be," said Bevin. "My first answer . . . is that Great Britain brings her mind to bear on every problem on its merits. She does not tie herself to anybody. . . . My second answer is that we hold out the hand of friendship and coöperation to all. . . . Soviet Russia . . . fully realized, I think, at New York . . . that there is throughout the world a readiness to coöperate with her and see her develop her system in her own way, with the recognition that others equally have a right to their own way of life."

These general remarks were only the first sallies of the bitter debate which is expected when Parliament reconvenes. The Labor revolt against Britain's halting role in Spain, in Greece, in Palestine and elsewhere on the European Continent is not likely to be pacified by generalities. A full-dress review of foreign policy in which Bevin will attempt to face down his critics is in prospect.

All Is Forgiven

Frankfurt am Main

THE softening heart of US occupation authorities in Germany was dramatically demonstrated when General Joseph T. McNarney made a special speech to announce that 800,000 "little" Nazis in the American zone would not be prosecuted under denazification laws. At the same time the US Army released from custody three Americans who were being held for trial as wartime German propagandists.

The freed Americans were Donald Day, former Baltic correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, Herbert Burgman, onetime clerk in the US Berlin embassy, and 37-year-old Mildred Gillars. All three had made numerous broadcasts for the Nazis. Mildred Gillars, nicknamed "Axis Sally" by US troops, became notorious for her dulcet surrender appeals over the air. She broadcast daily for three years after the invasion of North Africa. When captured, she declared, "The war for me was one against England and the Jews. It was them, and still is."



BEVIN FROM THE BACK BENCHES

Washington Wire



Prosperity: Whodunit?

IN JANUARY Washington weather usually turns bad and Congress meets. President Truman, working to the ting-ting-ting of the brass ship's chronometer in the Oval Study, hasn't consulted us on his three forthcoming messages, but the state of the times indicates what he will probably say.

The state of the times. . . . Well, why not start by examining it? Cosmically, according to the American Astronomical Association, creation is going right along out there in interstellar space. Globally, the world has had a year of peace. Some of the earth's two billion passengers are starving, but in general they aren't actively killing each other at present. Internationally, the US and USSR are getting on better and things look a little brighter. Coming down to the US alone, things are cheering up here, too. There are reasons for hoping industrial strife won't be too bad next year. Economically, we may have a recession, but the over-all prospect for five years is bright. Furthermore, by the end of the year the dollar may be able to buy something.

NOW WE COME to politics. The queer business of trying to run the country with a Democratic President and a GOP Congress is starting. This situation generally produces paralysis before the next election. If we are lucky this time, it will merely produce a mild stalemate and probably little will be done legislatively. This fits into the postwar mood of turning away from Washington to private affairs. A deep insight into this mood is shown in the latest Fortune-Roper poll indicating that 70 percent of the Americans feel they are better off than their fathers and less than 13 percent feel that their opportunities are poorer. Who cares much about governmental reform—or basic change of any sort—under such circumstances?

The 1948 presidential race is now on. Truman will run again. He is a party regular and knows the Democratic nomination is not worth much to anybody else anyway. He has cleared the decks of George Allen, which wasn't a bad idea. The chances are that Truman will be defeated, but that doesn't alter the present picture. All the uncertainty and excitement are on the GOP side, where potential presidents are now actively knifing each other. This will get worse in 1947 and will be fun to watch. American political parties engage in campaigns of maneuvers, not ideas. Everybody's belief is that 1948 will bring prosperity and the big political problem is, who gets credit for it?

IT'S UP to Truman, perked up by his Lewis victory, to stake out a claim to middle-road prosperity now. No extremes. Calmness, courage and moderation, that's the ticket. There'll be home-spun, plain-folksiness in the next two years: Keep human with Truman. He will offer an olive branch to the GOP. On world affairs: Byrnes is handling Russia admirably. On domestic affairs: prosperity is here, don't rock the boat. Labor will be told to be good and be promised fair-dealing; maybe a new commission to examine the whole affair would be in order. Truman will favor tax cuts, in moderation; conscription, sugar-coated; debt cuts, within reason. In general, the nation must rely on itself, not Washington.

This puts something of an intellectual burden on the Republicans, some of whom will find it hard to carry. They have to prove paternity to the prosperity baby. There will be a terrible temptation among the weaker brethren simply to obstruct and then to blame the resulting mess on Democratic inefficiency and incompetence. There are plenty of Democrats who would follow the same course were the roles reversed. Fortunately, the GOP is not lacking in leadership talent at

the top in men like Dewey, Stassen, Vandenberg and Taft. Disagreeing with these men doesn't deny their ability. The Republicans have a good stable of presidential candidates while the Democrats have few. It is characteristic of Taft, for example, to take over the Senate Labor Committee chairmanship, accepting the headache along with the spotlight. Tactless, humorless and almost incapable of dissimulation, Taft is, to our mind, also diligent and courageous. His willingness to assume responsibility is poles away from those former GOP New Deal critics who were merely ready to attack. If we are going to have conservatives, let's have them honest and forthright and willing to stick their necks out. We shall probably be disagreeing with Taft from here on and think it only sporting to give him a pat at the start.

NOTES.—No old-time tariff fight is expected this session with the nation exporting \$14 billion of goods in 1946 and receiving only \$7 billion, but if we don't import at least as much as we export before long, the world will fall apart again; before that time the real GOP tariff test must come. . . . If you can't buy sugar, remember that out of average individual consumption of 73 pounds a year you get only 25 pounds direct, the other 48 pounds go to commercial users. . . . There may not be enough sugar for home canning, but there are lots of ice-cream cones. . . . A book—*Last Days of Hitler* (Macmillan)—that will go out of New York in carload lots is by English intelligence officer H. R. Trevor-Roper; advance excerpts from it have been appearing in the London *Daily Telegraph*, telling the bona-fide and incredible story of the events of April, 1945. Hitler shot himself in the mouth; Eva Braun took poison; they were cremated with 50 gallons of gasoline during a Russian bombardment.

Washington

T. R. B.

Harry Truman's Bright Young Man

by Tris Coffin

Clark Clifford, special White House legal counsel, is trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly and from Missouri

OUT OF THE PALL of gloom covering the besieged city of Washington after the elections strode a beautiful white knight. He was virtuous and fair with a princely look in his big brown eyes. The holy mission of this Sir Galahad was to raise the Gallup rating of that irrepressible little Missourian, Harry S. Truman. This bold and handsome figure is Clark Clifford.

A year ago he was nothing more than a decorative assistant naval aide to the President. Now he is Harry Truman's chief assistant and the great white hope of Democrats of all faiths. He has somehow contrived to make Truman's swerve to the Right look as proper and dignified as a society funeral. At the same time those few New Dealers left in the Administration plead, "Don't be too hard on Clifford. He's the best we've got over there in the White House." This miracle man performs all manner of chores, from teaching the President how to say, "No comment," to advising him of the legal angles involved in meat-price controls.

Clifford sparkles like a jewel because of the mediocrity of those around him and because he is undoubtedly the most decorative male ever to work at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Every time he strides across the lobby of the West Wing the sigh of girl reporters and stenographers can be heard over the

noise of the poker game in the press-room. When Clifford was in college, a campus publication said of him, "Clifford possesses the physical attributes required of the youthful-lover type."

He is the perfect musical-comedy hero—a manly figure (six feet two), noble forehead, blond wavy hair, large eyes and a personality with just the right mixture of polite authority and deference toward his elders and betters. He has another characteristic of the professional actor—he always seems aware that he has an audience. As a matter of fact, Clifford was a musical-comedy star, and a good one, at Washington University in St. Louis.

His college epitaph was written by a campus critic who said of one role, "Song, jest and dialogue carried the slender thread of romance to the happy ending when Clark Clifford realized his undying affection for Sarah Selby, who was the entrancing Señorita Rosita. This startling denouement required a song, assent, dissent and consent, not to mention three tender embraces before the audience would cease applauding." One blasé White House aide suggests this is a perfect description of Harry Truman making up his mind on the coal strike.

Clifford is one of those fortunate and rare individuals whose life story would make a heroic plot for one of those conventional romantic novels so popular at the turn of the century. He had well-to-do and moderately well known parents. He succeeded at college.

He married the right kind of girl after the right kind of romantic courtship. His entry into business is the kind of tale told to Boy Scouts to pep them into working harder for extra merit badges.

His father was an executive of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. His mother is a writer and was at one time president of the American Association of Story Tellers. In college, Clifford was the Big Man on the Campus. He was elected to all the "right" honorary societies. He was the campus social and dramatic leader, a member of the tennis team, leader of the glee club and choir, and a good but not brilliant student. He was active in campus politics in the condescending way of college big-shots.

Clifford got his Big Chance in Life in a story-book manner. When he was a senior at law school in 1928, he attended a lecture by St. Louis lawyer Jacob M. Lashly, a former president of the American Bar Association. With all the superb self-confidence of the young, handsome and successful, Clifford advised the lawyer that he wanted to join his firm. Both flattered and amused, Lashly explained he had more applications than he could handle.

But our hero was not abashed. He said, "Sir, I would like to sit in your office library and see how the firm operates. I will work without pay, sir." Clifford won. The older man was impressed by the zealous self-faith of the budding Sir Galahad. This ability to impress his elders has been a constant, rewarding factor for Clifford.

He became one of the bright trial lawyers of St. Louis—a beautifully tailored young man with a dramatic flair and a knowledge of details.

Cook's-Tour Romance

CLARK CLIFFORD's romance was in the correct tradition. He met his wife on a Rhine River boat in Germany in 1929 while journeying with a friend. His future wife, a charming Boston debutante and accomplished pianist, was traveling with a party of Wellesley College girls. The gallant young lawyer did what might be expected of him. He and his friend changed their itinerary to follow the delighted college girls about Europe. The trail led from Germany to

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Switzerland to Florence, Nice and Paris. This was followed two years later, when his wife-to-be had completed finishing school and a music conservatory, with the wedding.

Inevitably, the Cliffords became society-page favorites in both St. Louis and Washington. Their gay whirl is something that wistful Cinderellas follow as avidly as bobby-soxers follow the life and habits of Frank Sinatra. One finds from these social columns that the Cliffords are "excellent hosts, particularly noted for their buffet suppers." The writers tell us confidentially that Mr. and Mrs. Clifford have the knack of selecting party guests who fit well together, a trick, by the way, which Democratic chairman Bob Hannegan might well learn.

The Gleaming J. G.

THE social glitter of the Cliffords is one reason why this beautiful gentleman is Harry Truman's manager today. Clifford's Washington sponsor, the sleepy-eyed presidential crony "Jake" Vardaman, is not oblivious of St. Louis society goings-on. In fact, his critics suggest he would like to be more a part of them. In the early spring of 1944 Clifford decided he just had to get into uniform. Vardaman was passing on naval commissions in the St. Louis area. Through no fault of his own, Lieutenant (j.g.) Clifford saw no overseas service. Admirals and their wives took an instant liking to this gleaming junior officer. In 1946, Clifford was a captain and a beribboned veteran of the Washington wars. He won a commendation from the Secretary of the Navy for "superb administrative ability, tireless and conscientious devotion to duty."

Jake Vardaman kept his eye on Clifford and in September, 1945, brought him into the White House as assistant naval aide. At that time, President Truman knew Clifford only slightly. The assistant naval aide's duties were not arduous. He trailed after old Admiral Leahy at a discreet and respectful distance. When the Admiral glowered, the assistant naval aide looked stern, and when Leahy's eyes twinkled, the aide's face lighted up. Later, when Commodore Vardaman was appointed to the

Federal Reserve System, Clifford became the naval aide. His responsibilities became a little heavier. He was placed in charge of redesigning the presidential seal and flag.

Greener Fields

CLIFFORD is not a lazy or shiftless fellow and he looked about for proper fields for his restless talents, and for persons who could help him. Judge Sam Rosenman, the portly speech writer for President Roosevelt, was still around the White House as legal adviser to Truman. Clifford tried out on him the respectful, "I would like to join your firm, sir," approach. Judge Rosenman, who had found the White House cronies a dull and even crude lot, was delighted. After the jokes of Major General Harry Vaughan and George Allen, Captain Clifford really did look like a Sir Galahad. The Judge taught Clifford how to pull together the material for a speech and some of the details of organizing the White House. The younger man was an attentive and deferential student.

He won his spurs in the broad field of government when Harry Truman became tangled inextricably in labor controversies. Clifford wrote the notorious Truman strike-breaking bill, the President's angry message to Congress and the veto message on the Case bill. In those early days, Clifford was very much the kind of lawyer called in at the last minute to save his client from the electric chair. He had nothing to do with Truman's decisions and was simply taking orders. His views on labor, if any, were conventional and not based on profound conviction or knowledge.

Since taking off his uniform to become the White House legal eagle, Clifford has gradually worked into President Truman's confidence. This was almost inevitable. There was no one else around with the peculiar combination of talents needed to be a civilian presidential chief of staff. Clifford has all the virtues in the Boy Scout manual. He has a disciplined, hard-working mind. In writing a speech, he will go over a draft seven and eight times. The result may not be great oratory, but, as one of his friends put it, "The speech will, at least, not have as many blun-

ders in it as you might expect from Harry Truman." He is completely loyal to Truman and has adopted a protective attitude toward his boss. The President's enemies are his. He is willing to listen and does not assume that he has all the answers. Clifford listened to the atomic scientists on the selection of the membership of the Atomic Commission, and he let Dave Niles talk to him on civil liberties. He is tactful and respectful. Those who have worked closely with Clifford report that he has a sharp but somewhat superficial mind. He has none of the social philosophy or political sophistication of Harry Hopkins.

Stew, But No Meat

CLARK CLIFFORD has had his hand in every major White House stew ever since last spring. He may be the fellow who tipped the delicately weighed scales on the meat issue just before elections. Truman was under terrific pressure. Bob Hannegan was running over to the White House every day with loud howls of anguish from Democratic politicians. The New Dealers were pleading with the President to fight it out in the old Roosevelt manner.

Truman was beset with indecision. One moment he decided he would go on the air with a bold and aggressive speech—damn the packers and growers for hoarding cattle and threaten them with legal action. But wait! Would it work? The President asked Clifford to check the legal questions and to find out whether or not a fighting policy would get meat on the counters. Clifford's reply was that it would not get meat. Truman sighed, and gave in.

Clifford moved in politely but firmly to plug up one White House weakness, the press conference. Truman's weekly meetings with the reporters had long been causing shudders to run up and down the spines of Democrats. They never knew what the hell he was going to say. Clifford talked respectfully to a number of the President's friends and advisers, obtained their backing and sold Truman on using what has become a monotonous phrase, "No comment."

There is one solid accomplishment to Clifford's credit. He has given the

White House an atmosphere of dignity it had lacked for many months. The mere fact that the loose ends are pulled together, that most of the appointments make some sort of sense, that President Truman has not blundered into any stray remarks at press conferences lately, makes the big white mansion seem less like a Missouri courthouse.

One of the many questions centering around Clifford is, "What are his political convictions?" The best answer is that he has apparently formed very few. His one big aim is to make Harry Truman look like a good President and to get some of the credit for this job of decoration. He has no real daring or imagination.

The Truman-Clifford labor policy is pretty clear—the Truman labor bill and the decision to fight out the coal strike with John Lewis. In discussions with other members of the White House staff, Clifford has said rather loftily that he approves of labor unions, but they must be disciplined. It is the kind of line he might have picked up from an NAM handout or by listening to Senator Joe Ball.

His attitude toward the liberals is, "We must keep the liberals in the Democratic Party, and to do this we must do something for them." He is not specific about what should be done.

Coming: The Acid Test

CLARK CLIFFORD's real test—one that can make or break the Truman Administration—is what he does on the message to Congress. The President theoretically will make the decisions, but Clifford is gathering all the material and can present it in such a way that a preference is clearly on the table. For more than a week Clifford worked over the section on labor. There are two dominant points of view in the Administration. Secretary of Labor Lew Schwel-lenbach is pleading against restrictive legislation. The Southern Democrats are trumpeting that the President should throw the book at the unions.

Sir Galahads have a way of dying suddenly in Washington. These next few days will tell whether Clifford really is the beautiful white knight or just another guy in the White House.

Building Tomorrow's Slums

by Ruth Moore

High land costs send home builders to the suburbs, with street, zoning and taxation headaches for US cities

HISTORY is about to repeat itself. Within the next few years it is very likely that most American cities will let the current housing free-for-all lead them into the same kind of mess that other housing booms have visited upon them in the past.

There is scarcely a large city which has not spent millions to widen narrow streets and wipe out eyesore districts which would never have existed if there had been even a minimum of foresight. And the job of correcting the building mistakes of the past has barely been started. Slums and decaying areas occupy big sections in the heart of the cities, while the most prosperous citizens continue to move to the suburbs. If unsightliness and unlivability are no objections, then the drop in municipal revenues has forced the cities to concern themselves with what is happening to them. The exodus to the suburbs has deprived them of some of their heaviest taxpayers, even while the cost of their slums has multiplied.

Unless drastic action is taken, the high cost of city land and the other ills of the cities will drive out to the suburbs about two-thirds of the millions of homes which are expected to be constructed in the next five or ten years. The flight to the suburbs will pick up new speed.

Furthermore:

1. Much of the new building will go far beyond the present suburbs. Whole

new communities will spring up in fields where a few cattle may be grazing now, and where there are no sewers, no utilities, no streets, no schools, no police, no fire houses. All of these services will have to be taken out to them. Estimates of what it will cost to extend these services and utilities are necessarily vague, but the best cost figure for 1947 alone is about one billion dollars. Part of this will be paid by real-estate developers; a large part will have to be borne by the metropolitan communities.

2. Not one city in 20, meanwhile, is doing anything about planning the proper placing of the new suburbs. Most of the new developments—the Cloverdales, the Oak Manors and Lakeviews—will be stuck wherever the promoter thinks it will be most profitable for him to build. This may cut across a city's future growth. Or it may be exactly on the spot the state will some day want for a super-highway, a new aviation field or a park. If the cities do not zone and plan the placing of new suburbs, if metropolitan areas do not plan their own development, real-estate men cannot be expected to. The few who tried probably would go broke.

3. Few metropolitan areas have or enforce the careful standards necessary to make sure that the suburbs of today will not be the suburban slums of tomorrow.

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row. Without strict local controls, the new houses, particularly the lower-priced ones built for veterans, may be jammed in narrow lots on crowded gridiron streets. They may not conform to the best standards for safety and sanitation. (Many of the new houses have septic tanks instead of sewers.)

Almost every metropolitan area in the country is pocked now with such suburban mistakes. Too often the happy little cottage on the fringe of the city where taxes were low and there was plenty of fresh air, green grass and open spaces has proved to be a mirage. If too few neighbors joined the first refugees from the city, the streets remained muddy roads and the children took a long bus trip to school. If the suburb proved popular, it often became as crowded, dirty and ramshackle as some of the residents' former city neighborhoods. And taxes were raised when the facilities for comfortable living were provided.

If the suburban errors of the past are not to be repeated—and made worse if building booms, as now seems likely—the metropolitan areas will have to protect themselves. The location of suburbs, building codes, zoning ordinances, fire districting, health and sanitary codes, deed restrictions, street and utility standards and the control of platting for tax purposes are local jobs. The federal government cannot step in.

Few City Controls

UNDER the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program, Wilson Wyatt, the housing expediter, did everything possible to encourage communities to do such a job for themselves. Under forced draft, some 715 local housing committees were formed, but only 11 have reported effective subdivision controls throughout their entire metropolitan area and only three, effective zoning throughout the whole locality.

In a recent report on land problems of the housing program, Wyatt's office commented: "Too few localities have subdivision and zoning controls complete and effective enough, or administered with sufficient vigor, to give any assurance that development will be sound in quality."

Wyatt prepared standards to guide communities and offered them assistance, but now that he is gone, and his program is virtually abandoned, this small prop will disappear. However, the dropping of the veterans' program for the construction of 2.7 million low and medium-cost houses in 1946 and 1947 may make the land and planning problem a little easier than it might otherwise have been. If building is concentrated on expensive homes, more of them will go into existing suburbs. Crowding and quality in building also tend to be less of a difficulty if the house costs \$20,000 rather than \$7,000.

New Land Boom

ON THE other big problem—attracting new building to the city proper—the federal government will certainly have to lend a hand if anything is to be done. A hundred years or more have shown that the cities cannot solve it themselves. And if the present trend of loss of population and declining property values goes on or is stepped up, the cities ultimately will face financial ruin.

Unless something is done, and fast, even about half the new apartments—the so-called garden type—will be built on raw land on the outskirts. If the factory-produced house comes through, it also will go almost exclusively into large developments on the fringes. It is expected that about 68 percent of the new building will go to new raw land, outside the city.

The major reason the new building will be shoved out and ever farther is the high cost of land. Almost any land in the center of the city is likely to be so costly that the price of any house or apartment built on it would not only be out of the reach of the veteran, but of a majority of the people. The land costs per family rehoused in some of the big-city developments built before the war ran from \$1,500 to \$1,900 and higher. The land for a \$5,000 house or an apartment unit costing that much should not run much over \$600.

Since that time inflation has hit land prices both inside and outside the city. A survey made in 90 cities last April

showed that the price of lots had risen 60 percent, and the price of raw land 62 percent. Lots in 15 of the largest cities had gone up 100 percent and more, and many 200-percent increases were reported. Since the survey was made, there are many indications that the opening up of construction has sent land prices skyrocketing still more spectacularly.

The inflation has been worst on the Pacific Coast and in Texas, the two places where there has been the most building. In both places it has reached the feverish speculative stage where lots are sold and resold for the profit to be made, rather than for use. Even when speculation was not the aim, the runaway has tended to force such tactics upon builders. For the finer points about what happens during a land boom, you have only to look back through the newspaper stories of the Florida real-estate bubble of the twenties. During the last stages of that speculative spree, land owners who had made sight-unseen purchases often found that their seaside property was beside the water only during low tide.

The story is told of one California builder who acquired a site for a large development, only to have the price soar until he felt he could no longer use it for the low-cost homes he planned. He bought a second site. Again before he could begin building, the price had risen out of his building range. He is said to have cleaned up a big profit on his real-estate trading, but still has not built the houses he planned.

A Growing Problem

IT IS feared that when building reaches an equally intensive stage in other cities, a similar speculative boom may develop. So far builders in most Central and Eastern cities have not had to face the land-price problem in its most acute form. In the first year of the housing program, most of them had lots, bought earlier at reasonable prices, on which they could build.

Inflation has only made worse the already existing problem of high land prices and given a new impetus to the push toward the suburbs. Much thought had been given the problem even before

the postwar inflation set in. One possible solution or aid is proposed in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which is scheduled to be reintroduced in the next Congress after dying in the last session.

Recognizing that the cities probably will not be able to tear out their slum areas and open the cleared land to new home building unless federal aid is given, the bill sets up a five-year program for aid to the cities in land assembly:

1. Five hundred million dollars is provided for temporary federal loans to localities to get land-assembly and clearance projects started. These loans would have to be repaid in five years.

2. It also provides \$50 million a year for five years for longer-term federal loans in connection with the projects. They would have to be repaid, with interest, in 45 years.

3. To write down the cost of the land so that it might be reused for all types of homes, or any other appropriate use, the bill would permit the federal government to contribute up to \$4 million a year for five years to communities which match the funds on a 50-50 basis. With the local contributions, it is estimated that this would cover about \$1.5 billion worth of land acquisition and preparation for redevelopment.

One-Tenth of the Nation

THIS would be enough to clear about one-tenth of the slum and blighted areas in the nation, and it might make it possible for cities to check the suburban exodus of a large part of the new building.

Since Senator Taft, one of the most influential Republicans in the new Republican Senate, is one of the sponsors of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, it is given an outside chance of passing.

Unless it does, or unless other measures are taken to open the cities to building and to introduce some system into the crazy hodgepodge of suburban building, the big period of home construction which lies ahead will bring about as much grief to the country's cities as it brings relief to those who get homes.

A Text Book Made in Japan

by Hessel Tiltman

Issued with American approval, the first "MacArthur History" for Japanese children is quaint and dangerous

FOR NEARLY 12 months the teaching of Japanese history was forbidden by GHQ while new "democratized" textbooks were being prepared to replace the old history books which had been banned.

That sounded fine until the first of the new "MacArthur histories"—for use in elementary schools—was circulated. Entitled *Kuni-no-Ayumi* (*Progress of the Country*), the volume was compiled by Japanese historians under the direction of the Ministry of Education. It proved to be an excellent illustration of the difference between issuing a directive and carrying out a reform.

Kuni-no-Ayumi begins promisingly. Gone is almost all trace of the mythological baloney linking Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, with Hirohito, and the fable of how Japan's "eight great islands" were created by the gods, and the stuff—long fed to Japanese tots—about the imperial dynasty going back in unbroken succession for more than 2,600 years, which shall continue "coeval with Heaven and Earth, through Ages eternal."

In place of this hocus-pocus, the Japanese child is informed, more accurately, that "it was a very, very long time ago

that our ancestors settled to live in this land. Though we cannot tell for certain how long ago it was, it must be at least scores of thousands of years ago." However, our old friend Jimmu, first divinely descended Emperor of Japan—of whom many Japanese believe Douglas MacArthur to be the reincarnation—manages to slip under the wire, and appears divested of heavenly antecedents under his earthly name of "Kamuyamato-Iwarehiko-no-Sumeramikoto." The details of how he established a court at the palace of Kashiwara, on the island of Honshu (which the old histories recorded as happening in 660 B.C.), is included in the new history, not as a legend handed down the centuries, but dead-pan.

It is a little surprising, but still understandable, to find that the compilers of the new history have dredged up the fact that the Japanese way back were dyed-in-the-wool democrats. Thus, concerning the early beginning of organized communities in the Japanese islands, it is stated: "As the world advanced, excellent people were elected among such congregations of people to unify and lead the community." A medieval Constitution of Seventeen Articles is cited, setting forth such admirable instructions as that those holding power must not tax the people heavily; that all officials must administer the affairs of state fairly, listening to the petitions of the people; and that they must not arbitrarily decide important matters, but

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take counsel with many people when deciding affairs of state. The history further records the establishment, in the days of the Shoguns, of the system of *meyasu-bako*, or "complaint boxes," into which the general public might slip notes expressing their political opinions or setting forth what they thought about their rulers.

The Meiji Constitution

SOMEWHERE along the line, before MacArthur landed, things went wrong, and the reader plunges into a mess of wars, revolts, assassinations and what are euphemistically termed "disturbances." It is, however, when the story moves on to the years following the ending of Japan's isolation from the world in 1853, that the historians really hit their stride.

Read this on the Meiji Constitution, which lasted until November 3, 1946, and served the militarists so well:

In the civilized countries of the world, each had had its respective constitution made and established a parliamentary regime to enable its people to conduct state affairs. Therefore it went without saying that our country had to enact a constitution, too.

In the Constitution the matters of the Imperial Diet were defined in detail, by which the first members of parliament were elected from the people in the following twenty-third year of Meiji [1890], and the first session of the Imperial Diet was convoked in December. Thereafter the government came to administer the affairs of state in coördination with the Diet. It had been a form of government by military men in the olden time, and by officials at the beginning of the Meiji Era, but it has been a constitutional government ever since.

Or this:

In September of the sixth year of Showa [1931] the South Manchurian Railway was suddenly blown up at a spot near Mukden. Then taking advantage thereof, the Japanese troops garrisoned there attacked and took Mukden and further assailed various places. In dealing with the invasion of Manchuria the League of Nations inquiry is mentioned, and it is stated its report showed that measures taken by Japan and by Manchukuo, too, were not right and contrary to the rules of International Law.

Or this, on the China war that began in 1937:

At first the then Japanese government strove to bring the matter to the earliest possible settlement and conclude peace with China, but the war extended too far to do so. . . . Under those circumstances, the government declared the war to have as its object the creation of a new order in the Far East. Also it went so far as to proclaim that Japan would not take the Minkuo [Chinese] government seriously. When things came to this, Japan became clearly dissentient from the United States and Britain on the Chinese problem.

Or this, on the origins of the Pacific war:

About that time in Japan the pacifists lost their influence and the government enforced the reconstruction of all administration, economics and culture in accordance with the need of consolidating the internal condition of the country on account of the war [Chinese war]. Japan, however, negotiated with the United States in many ways, but as the arrangements went on, the government and the military party came to disagreement. Consequently Fumimaro Konoe resigned from his premiership, being succeeded by Minister of the Army Hideki Tojo.

Thus the negotiations with America finally came to a standstill. On the morning of December 8, the Japanese navy suddenly made a surprise attack on the Pearl Harbor of Hawaii, and then proclaimed war on both the United States and Great Britain.

Later in the book there appears an indication that it might have been a smart idea for Japan to have negotiated with the United States a little harder before staging the sneak attack. "Japan was defeated," it is recorded. "The people heavily suffered from the fact that the militarists oppressed the people and waged a reckless war." Emperor Hirohito, theoretically shorn of all divinity and power, is still pictured in 1946 as directing his subjects and "instructing the Japanese people as to what path they are to take."

The Bare Bones

NO ATTEMPT is made to suggest to young minds that Japan, with her unity and discipline, diligence and industry, might surely have enjoyed great blessings instead of present miseries had the wealth and energy ex-

pendent on Nippon's wars been devoted to peaceful pursuits.

No attempt has been made to implant in the minds of young Japan an urge toward a specific better way of life; some cynics suggest maybe this is because General of the Army MacArthur has not yet decided just what way of life he wants Japan to adopt.

One official at MacArthur's headquarters reminded me that *Kuni-no-Ayumi* provides only the bare bones, which will be clothed by the teachers themselves. This is interesting news if true, for in four months of screening Japan's schoolteachers by Japanese investigating committees in order to eliminate ultra-nationalists and militarists, the qualifications and careers of 213,000 teachers were examined, and 160 were purged. In many cases the "investigations" were conducted in the space of one minute! Finally, GHQ was obliged to intervene and the screening process was suspended pending a complete overhaul of the committees entrusted with the task. As a result, Japanese children are still being taught by teachers who would in many cases be eliminated as dangerous under General MacArthur's purge directives had anyone got around to carrying them out. And reform of the educational system has temporarily bogged down. Nothing is likely to be done before spring at earliest. And nothing much will be accomplished then unless the Japanese government is prodded into a change of heart—or tactics.

More Robots?

THE Japanese Ministry of Education—notoriously the world's most prolific producer of robots—has pulled a fast one and has got away with it. It has effectively stalemated the reformation of Japan's feudalistic educational system and has produced a "history" which is as quaint and dangerous as many other things in Japan. If the reactionaries—both American and Japanese—can thus distort history itself, what can't they do in MacArthurland?

Having read *Kuni-no-Ayumi*, I can only say (paraphrasing a famous remark of the Duke of Wellington): "I don't know what effect this book will have on the enemy, but by God, it frightens me."

Henry Wallace's Forum

The Challenge of 1947

AS PROGRESSIVES we have no interest in the past except as it guides us to act effectively in the future. But, as we begin another New Year, it is fitting that we once more count our blessings.

In the US the progressives have been blessed far beyond their deserts by the abundance and ruthlessness of their enemies. At a time when the progressive cause was beginning to die of spiritual dry-rot over the entire world and especially in England and France, the Nazis and Fascists stirred the democratic forces in a supreme effort. We in the US should never cease thanking the British airmen for winning the Battle of Britain or the Russians for holding fast at both Stalingrad and Leningrad. Freedom missed death by such a narrow margin that the three great nations should hold joint memorial services once a year to commemorate the bond of Allied unity which held together long enough to permit victory. We should give thanks that the UN finally got off dead center and that the US and Russia are at last beginning to have a little more faith in each other.

We should give thanks that the hardest part of our reconversion to peace is over—that good crops in the US saved millions from starvation, that industry is going again in Western Europe, that the bridges are in, the docks repaired and the ships moving. And as we give thanks, those of us who live in the countries less seriously ravaged by the war should remember that a special responsibility for the peace rests on us because of that very fact.

Here in the US the progressives are blessed by enemies who are ruthless in a peculiarly American way. After every great war the forces of reaction have had the upper hand here for some years. Never have the forces of reaction been so determined or so well organized as at the present time.

The favorite tactic of our enemies is to split the progressives among themselves. As a result, we have one small group of progressives whose chief emotional drive is witch-hunting for Communists and hating Russia. Another small group judges everything solely from the standpoint of, "What will Russia think?" Fortunately, most of the progressives are not interested in the fight between the extremists. They are interested solely

in a forward-looking program based on peace with Russia, jobs for all, full peacetime utilization of atomic energy and freedom of expression for everyone. But the majority, who are animated neither by hatred of Moscow nor by love for Moscow, have been lazy in their progressivism. They should be forced into action by the hatred and ruthlessness of the reactionaries and by the extremists who are more interested in fighting each other than they are in progress.

NO ONE can safely prophesy whether depression will come. We do know that depression tends to follow postwar inflation. We know, too, that there was more inflation in 1946 than in all the other war years and more than we had at a comparable period after the First World War. We know that in many lines inflation will grow worse in 1947. Rents will be increased in many cities. The pressure on the income of preachers, schoolteachers and other fixed-income groups will become serious. People will stop buying luxury goods. A jeweler tells me he would be happy to sell half as much merchandise in 1947 as in 1946. The same story comes from a furrier. Women's dresses will be cheaper. People are now saving their money for houses, automobiles, household furnishings, education and possible medical expenses. An oversupply of many farm products will become apparent next fall. This doesn't mean a serious depression in 1947 such as brought everything down in ruins in 1929-32, but if depression comes it could be severe enough to give us five or six million unemployed in 1947 and a sharp increase in business failures among small business wholesalers and retailers caught with a big inventory and a sudden drop in prices. The only thing which in my opinion holds out a lasting promise in 1947 is genuine peace between labor and management. If a depression is coming, we can stall it off for a while by preserving and even encouraging factors which make for inflation. But this seems to me a remedy far worse than the disease, a remedy which will make a future depression much more severe when it comes.

The constructive way to prevent depression is for government at once to make a comprehensive, continuing industry-by-industry survey of prices, wages, profits, in-

ventories, orders, levels of production and possibility of technological change. Out of bitter experience we have forged the tools and the methods for controlling the wild swings of inflation and depression. To employ those tools efficiently we must use the methods of coöperation and abandon the present tactics of jungle warfare. On the basis of careful surveys, the President's Economic Advisory Council might well make informed recommendations to both management and labor as to what action in the various industries will best maintain the total output of goods at a high level. If management will wholeheartedly embrace collective bargaining and labor will go all-out to increase production, it may be possible to use comprehensive industry studies by government as a scientific basis for discovering just what level of prices, production, wages, profits and investment in each industry will best keep our economy going without strikes. Such a study can be a basis, in our key industries, for cost-of-living bonuses and the setting up of annual wage schemes.

WISE labor leaders surely know that extensive strikes in 1947 would contribute to inflation and a severe depression in 1948 or 1949. The sensible course is to have government, as a friend of management and labor, get the full facts industry by industry. This means more appropriations for the Census Bureau and a number of other bureaus in the departments of Labor, Commerce and Interior. The hands-off policy as pursued by the Administration and the bipartisan, reactionary bloc in Congress will lead inevitably to depression and unemployment.

Undoubtedly there are many in both the Administration and business circles who feel that the present high level of employment and business profits is a demonstration of the wisdom of the hands-off policy carried out by government from V-J Day onward. If we were thinking only about 1946, we might well say that the removal of government restrictions and the repeal of the excess-profits tax helped create inflation, temporary full employment and high profits.

But when government steps mightily into the economic picture in time of war, it cannot suddenly step out in time of peace without inviting ultimate disaster even though for a time the nation may enjoy a temporary prosperity. The government must do for industry what the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has long done for agriculture. I got some of this work started when I was Secretary of Commerce. Much more needs to be done and I hope Secretary Harriman will get adequate backing from Congress. He needs it to obtain for the President's Economic Advisory Council the necessary facts month by month to enable that body to serve industry and labor adequately in the crucial years immediately ahead.

As a realist, I know that wide-awake progressives in the United States today are a minority because of the failure of the press as a whole to give them vitally needed information. Many progressives are not aware of the Franco menace or the Peron menace. Millions in the US by their own inaction are unwittingly helping the Nazis in Germany, the Falangists in Spain and the Peronistas in Argentina. Then there are those who look forward eagerly to war with Russia. Their leaders are in the forefront of every reactionary drive. They are the American fascists who consciously or unconsciously coöperate with the Spanish and Argentine fascists who will front for the Nazis as long as the Germans have to burrow underground.

And so in this year 1947 I say that the fight against fascism was not ended by the war. It has just begun with the peace. We progressives in the US who fight the Buenos Aires-Madrid axis as it tries to get us into war with Russia are not Communists. We are not Russophiles. We still think that the great peril to everything that the great center bloc of progressives holds dear comes mainly from the reactionaries and fascists all over the world who are doing their best to make the US fight Russia during the next 25 years.

TODAY, as we progressives enter on 1947, we have some advantages which the progressives of 1920 did not have. We have much more precise knowledge of how to prevent depressions, even though, once they are well under way, it is enormously difficult to halt them. From the war experience we are better aware of the divisive tricks which are always used to confuse and separate progressives, nationally and internationally. On the other hand, the American reactionaries know more definitely just what they want. The pro-war party is moving with great precision. Atomic energy has stepped up the tempo of international affairs. American militarists are acting more determinedly to dominate our universities, our scientists and our civilian affairs. The possibilities of ultimate good and evil are enormously intensified.

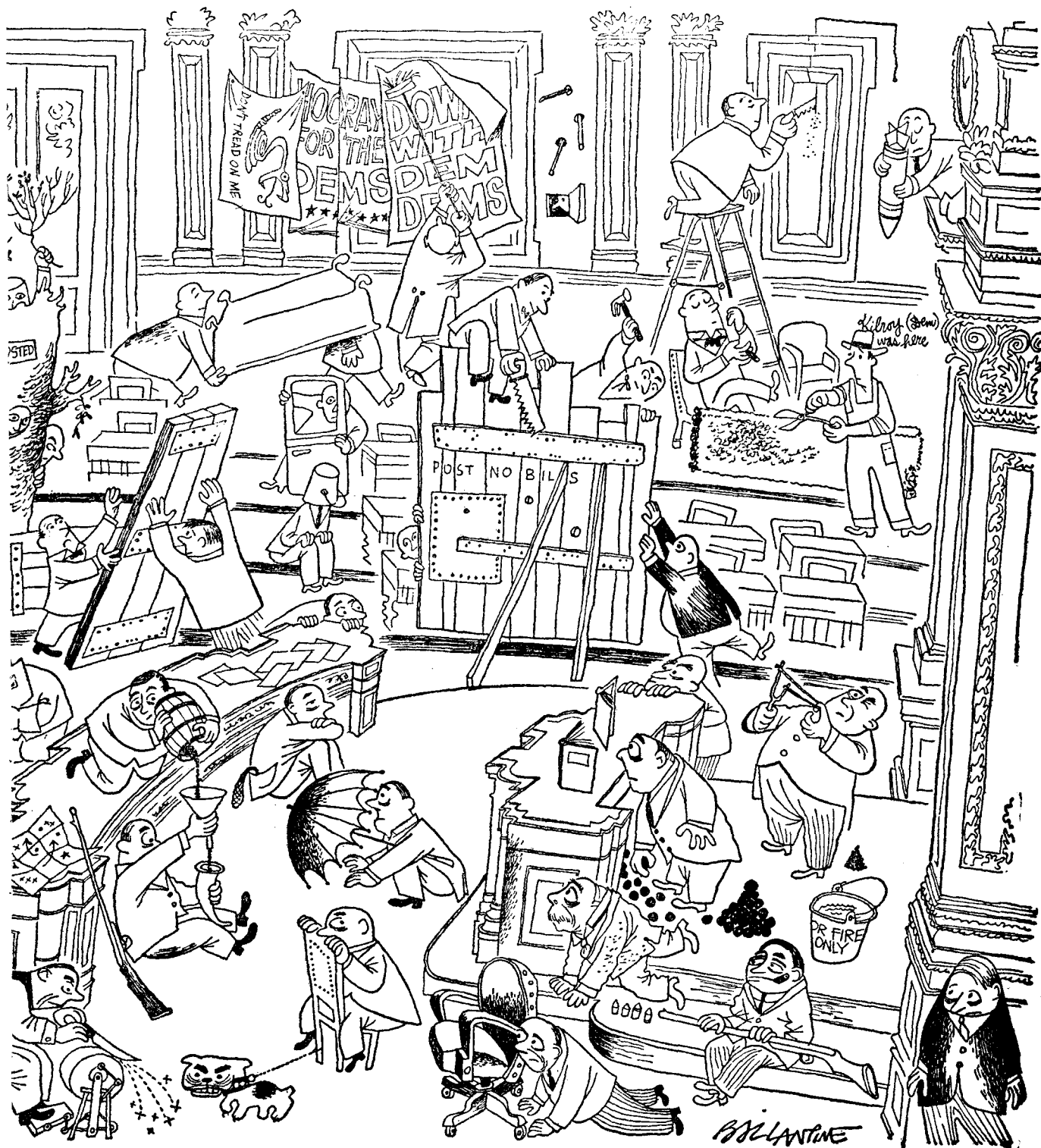
We progressives can, if we will, bring about a unity of the good points in many cultures for the service of the common man. Or we can, if we are either slothful or criminally careless, allow the reactionaries in their blindness to bring on, first, depression, then American imperialism and finally war. To fight the forces of reaction we must do more than write and speak. We must organize for specific political action county by county to control state conventions from the grass roots up, rather than from Washington on down. If we are interested in ideals rather than political jobs, we can lay the groundwork in 1947 which will produce results in 1948.

H. A. W.



The Poor Man's
JUST BEFORE THE BA
The Eightieth C

JANUARY 6, 1947



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FILE OF CAPITOL HILL

gress Convenes

Peoria: A City That Remembers

by Ralph G. Martin

Everybody talks about veterans, but this Illinois city is really doing something about their problems

PEORIA, ILLINOIS, like every other American city, has a lot of veterans. But Peoria has more than veterans needing houses, veterans needing jobs and veterans with a thousand personal problems. Peoria is different from other American cities, because Peoria has a plan, one so simple that no other city has tried it before. The crux of it is something they call Human Engineering.

Talk to a veteran until he pours himself out, then decide which tests to give him, add up the scores, make a graph, doublecheck the tests with the talk, and you've got a Psychometric Profile. Then you know whether to advise the Wac to get married or to open up a frozen-food store; whether that salesman should be an artist or the unsuccessful artist should be a salesman.

That's mainly psychologist Barker D. Herr's job. And that's what makes the Peoria Plan unique—they have one of the most complete psychological-testing facilities in the country and their \$125 examination is always absolutely free.

"But do you know the only tough thing about my job?" asked Herr, a man of 35, with sharp eyes and a soft voice. "The fact that most people don't mind having their bodies examined, but when you start studying their minds and their personalities they get scared."



Eight tests or 18? The Minnesota Multi-Phasic Personality Test or the Kuder Preference Record or a Rorschach? Talk to him only for 15 minutes or see him regularly every week? Names, faces, numbers, problems. Punch a hole next to the thing you would most want to do: (1) act as chairman of a social committee for a club dance; (2) decorate the hall; (3) send out announcements for the dance.

What do you see when you look at this inkblot?

Do you want to be alone all the time? "But we never tell them what to do," explained Herr. "We show them what we find out and the final decision is theirs. We simply try to help them to help themselves. And do you know who need the most help? The Plus People."

The Plus People are those who have high IQ's but got poor grades in school because they were bored; the ones who are more mixed up than anybody else, more indecisive, have more emotional problems. Without proper guidance, they wind up as bank clerks when they should be bank presidents. They're the ones who get the most conference time, the most tests.

Not everybody says O.K., you're the doctor. There are always those who say thank you very much, but I'll still do what I

want to do. Almost invariably, though, they come back sooner or later to say, "You were right. I'm lousy in electrical engineering. What do I do now?"

Herr simply sends him, with his test results, into the next office to see McClellan.

V. D. McClellan is a former carpenter's mate second class, and before that he was a job specialist with the United States Employment Service.

"With me, there's no such thing as first come, first served," said brisk-talking, balding McClellan. He shuffled a big pile of file cards. "See these? They're all employers who have been begging me to send them veterans for different jobs. But I can't do it. I only send men to jobs they're fitted for."

When he does have a job he can fill—whether it's a truck driver or a baseball umpire or a radio-promotion man—he doesn't send a dozen applicants: he sends one. And the one generally sticks, generally pleases.

What's more, there's no filing and forgetting. There's the regular telephone checkup with both the veteran and his boss. Usually, everybody is happy about the whole thing, but sometimes the boss may say, "Well, the boy started out fine but we've been having trouble with him lately. He's always flying off the handle. . . ."

Doctors' Dilemma

THAT'S when McClellan sends him to Turow. Dr. Irving Turow, a small, mild-mannered psychiatrist who likes to listen to adolescents who matured in a war, to men and women emotionally and mentally sick, to a new generation filled with fears:

"I tell you, doctor, I can't stand it any more. I know how much he's been through overseas and I try to understand and sympathize, but there's a limit to how much I can take. Whenever we go anywhere, he always thinks I'm looking at another man. He's so insanely jealous, he's driving me crazy. . . ."

So many people with so many questions:

"Should I tell my wife all my sex experiences while I was overseas? . . ."

"Somehow I always have the feeling that somebody is following me. . . ."

"I met her and we got married just before they shipped me. Now we're like strangers. Maybe it wasn't love, maybe we were just lonely. . . ."

"Every night I wake up screaming—every single night—got to help me, doc. . . ."

Doc usually does. Often his psychotherapy is simply common sense. If it gets more complicated, he has separate conferences with the wife, parents, in-laws and employer. To all of them he explains the tensions and the problems, the need for patience and encouragement.

Sometimes it goes deeper than common sense.

That jealous husband had a mother who was murdered by her lover; the machinist was so irritable because he had never learned to read and was embarrassed by it; and the frightened little man who was followed by shadows was a schizophrenic, serious enough to be hospitalized.

"But the general picture is bright,"

added Turow. "So many psychiatrists thought that our mental hospitals would be swamped with war casualties. I'm happy to say we were wrong."

But of the 5,000 veterans treated here last year, there was a big group who wanted neither jobs nor psychotherapy. They wanted advice on GI insurance, disability payments, filing claims, going to college or starting a business. Their man was a tall, graying veteran of both wars, Jacob Haberle. It was Haberle who made most of the early contacts with Peoria's organizations, businesses, prominent people. His file has 300 names representing at least 60 different businesses and professions, all voluntarily pledging their time, money and advice to the Plan.

If a vet wants to open a grocery store, there are businessmen ready to tell him about the problems and the profits, law-



yers to give him legal advice, bankers to talk about loans, real-estate men to help pick the location. With all of them it's a personal matter, not a rush act.

Besides Haberle, Turow, McClellan and Herr, there is director Jack Brennan.

He has the job of smoothing the quirks and keeping out the politicians. When Illinois' Governor Green handed the Plan \$50,000 for two years, there were no strings attached. The Community Chest supplied the rest, and former industrial consultant Brennan had a free hand and a lot of worries.

He's worried about long-range problems: which Peoria industries have expansion plans and what kind of job openings will there be six months and a year from now. He's worried about the growth of the Plan. Oklahoma City and Jamaica, Long Island, have copied the



Illustrations by John Groth

DURING THE WAR IT WAS SIMPLE: YOU TRIED TO STAY ALIVE

But he'd like to see it spread all over the country. It's come a long way from Dr. Harold Vonachen's original dream of it as a way to help disabled veterans only.

Some civilians have already started dribbling in. They come into the waiting room with a surprised look on their faces. They never knew there was such a place, a place where people cared about people, where a common, ordinary guy who worked in an office or a factory could come and pour out his frustrations. Like that Listening Clinic on the radio. Only here they listened and did practical things. They found you jobs or doctors or schools. And they told their friends about it. And their friends couldn't believe it. Imagine a place like that absolutely free. What's the joker? What do they sell on the side?

The word has spread fast around Peoria. Every week the civilian customers increase; the veterans are fewer. Brennan soon sees the day when the free business will be largely non-veteran.

"But do you know what my biggest worry is?" continued Brennan. "I'm worried about the 11,000 Peoria vets who haven't yet come here. What's going to happen when all the veterans graduate from college and the 52-20 payments stop and the job market tightens up—what are we going to do if we have a serious depression then? Is there anybody in America today who is making any plans for that day?"

Well, Peoria has asked a question. . . . Anybody know the answer?



"Mrs. Windsor's Toast Is Burning"

by Thomas Whiteside

*Who sniffed smoke and reported the news?
The Society Columnist, who daily writes
about America's caviar set*

WITHOUT the society columns, the readers of our popular press would probably fall into a depressing rut. Publishers certainly are aware of this fact, for with certain austere exceptions like the *New York Times* and *PM*, almost every one of our 1,700 daily newspapers carries a society column explaining the folkways and mores of our respected élite.

The basic concept of the society column is an admirably democratic one: to strengthen the bonds of affection between the people and their leaders. It is designed to demonstrate that the élite is wealthy, handsome, clever and happy in its work. Appropriately, Austine Cassini's column in the *Washington Times-Herald* is titled "These Charming People" and the column by Igor Cassini, her husband, in Hearst's *New York Journal-American* is headed "The Smart Set." These, together with Evelyn Peyton Gordon, whose section of the Scripps-Howard *Washington Daily News* is headed simply "Evelyn Peyton Gordon," are true society columnists, as distinct from pseudo-society writers like Elsa Maxwell, the well known political economist, or Walter Winchell, now advanced to the rank of semi-official, if gratuitous, adviser to the heads of the great powers.

With the exception of certain foreigners, Miss Gordon finds all members of Society uniformly attractive. Sir Carl Berendsen is "the delightful

envoy who looks like Jimmy Durante"; Henry F. Grady is "huge, genial" or, again, "towering, brilliant"; his wife is "diminutive, Spanish-born" and his daughter Patricia "engaging." Mrs. Joseph E. Davies is "beautiful," Nora Martins "beauteous," and Mrs. Paul Porter "youthful." Miss Gordon places Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in the supreme omnibus category of "top-drawer society, handsome and very attractive." Senator Bill Jenner is "a charmer" and Mrs. John W. Bricker "a dead-ringer for Mrs. Calvin Coolidge.—Of course," Miss Peyton adds, "the Grace Coolidge of her White House days." And Mrs. J. Borden Harriman is "tall and exceedingly handsome despite her 80 years."

The Golden Glow

PEOPLE solicitous of its leaders' welfare wants to know they do not suffer from financial insecurity. On this point, Evelyn Peyton Gordon is constantly reassuring. "Both have charm as well as the wherewithal," she will say of a diplomatic couple. Or she may remark casually that Mme. Nina Ricci wore "a fortune in emeralds." Often, the mere mention of corporate affiliations will suffice, as in the case of Mrs. Joseph E. Davies: "The General Foods heiress has not been her customary hale self," or Mrs. Edward Alexander: "I see no prospect of the daughter of the late Mint Director Raymond T. Baker and

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Mrs. Margaret (Bromo Seltzer) Emerson departing the town any time soon unless it be for a sojourn at Palm Beach."

A democratic people considers it important that its leaders have enough to eat. Miss Gordon brings reassurance on this score almost daily. "Maurice Chapuis confides," she confides in turn, "that prima donna Lily Pons's favorite dish is coq au vin à la Bourguignon—a rich bit which calls for the bleeding of a fat young rooster 24 hours before cooking and the use of the fresh blood in the preparation of the succulent sauce." That our leaders eat intelligently as well as gracefully is a source of satisfaction to Miss Gordon: "Cleverly, Mrs. Truman planned a clear consommé for the start with celery and olives."

A by-product of the leadership qualities common to our élite is a tendency to eccentricity. Such eccentricities, however, generally show an elegance of taste, a fastidiousness not found elsewhere. Thus Marshall Exnicios, master of the hounds of the Potomac Hunt, "used to send his laundry to England."

Society is capable of roughing it when necessary: "Canadian Ambassador Hume Wrong . . . has no house in which to live . . . so is 'camping out' at the Wardman Park Hotel." Above all, leaders of Society are kind, considerate and democratic to the extreme: "Scouts tell me," says Miss Gordon, "that one of the most touching scenes [at Warm Springs] is the sight of multi-millionairess Marjorie Davies, clad in ermine, gently and solicitously pushing multi-millionairess Grace Vanderbilt's wheelchair around the path of the Homestead."

Lenin's Eyes

FEW sociologists give more careful attention to the dynamics of social change than Evelyn Peyton Gordon. Indeed, she frequently remarks that "it's hard to believe how times have changed." The full impact of the social mobility of the élite struck her rather sharply when she recently attended a reception at the Yugoslav Embassy. "I could not help but notice," she wrote afterward, "that it was definitely not the same people who had attended

the brilliant party given a few years ago for former King Peter. . . . Marshal Tito cannot boast followers of the social caliber as those who traditionally surround a monarch. . . . They may have been the right people for the Yugoslav way of life. But they weren't the people who make up Washington Society. . . . I liked Peter's party better."

It is typical of Evelyn Peyton Gordon, however, that her demands for good breeding do not interfere with her affection for the common man. "Yes," she writes sadly of a Soviet reception, "it's all fantastic; celebration of a workers' victory in a millionaire's mansion, with liveried lackeys, rare wines and well dressed men . . . circulating under the narrow eyes of Lenin." Miss Gordon sees a certain irony there, but must admit that "Capital Society sniffs contemptuously if the good comrades don't serve vintage champagne and the very freshest of caviar."

Tar and Tiger Tusks

AUSTINE "BOOTSIE" CASSINI, daily authoress of "These Charming People" and herself a regular charmer, arrived in the writing game through what is probably the society columnist's love story of all time. *She* was the daughter of the socially prominent Major Austin McDonald, who lived in a fine old house in Warrentown, Virginia. *He* was Igor Cassini, a society writer for the *Washington Times-Herald*. Fate had just decreed, at 2:30 a. m. on June 25, 1939, that certain members of the Warrentown horsey set should, in a fit of pique, tar and feather Cassini for untoward writings concerning their families. Dripping with pitch, Cassini flew to the house of Major McDonald to telephone to his city editor a report of the outrage. (Upon receipt of this news, the city editor is reported to have cried out in anguish, "They've gilded the lily!") The editor's loss was Cassini's gain. For he came face to face with Austine, daughter of the house, and the sympathy with which she picked feathers from him quickly blossomed into love. They were married shortly afterward; Cassini was drafted and Austine took his place at the typewriter in the *Times Herald* offices.

"Bootsie" does write, it is true. But she deals to a lesser extent than Evelyn Peyton Gordon with the broad sweep of Society, and prefers the intensive approach, as, for example:

"Ginger [Rogers] is grand! She likes gold jewelry, ice-cream sodas and President Truman!"

"Best dressed woman at the Army-Navy game was a good-looking Queen in a polo coat of mink."

"If dancers had their skirts sprayed with perfume, ballet would stimulate every sense!"

Mrs. Cassini's popularity, which among her readers is immense, once impelled a rival society reporter publicly to describe her as "a pint-sized brunette with a dreamy figure not hurt by the curve-defining black princesses . . . blue mink and, focal point, a shoulder dangle which was one of her grandmother's tiger tusks."

For her *Times-Herald* column, Mrs. Cassini is photographed every day in a new hat, 300 of which she keeps on hand.

Arbiter Elegantiarum

AS "Cholly Knickerbocker" in the *New York Journal-American*, Igor Cassini, Austine's husband, is much too busy to write of details in dress, although he occasionally styles himself a "modern *arbiter elegantiarum*." Little escapes Cassini within the confines of the Four Hundred. It was he who reported, almost before the smoke had reached the sensitive nostrils of a Waldorf-Astoria waiter, that the Duchess of Windsor's toast was burning in its rack. It was he, too, who ascertained for Hearst readers at home and abroad that the names of the Duke of Windsor's two little dogs were Pookie and Prissie and that in the evening the dogs wore "elegant red coats."

Cassini is more of a crusader than his wife. He recently complained that Society people at the première of "The Razor's Edge" were ignored in favor of movie stars. "We see no reason," he wrote indignantly next day, "why people with genteel backgrounds should be pushed around to make room for some former elevator girl or soda jerker who happens to have achieved a rapid suc-

cess in a make-believe world." Cassini's umbrage at movie stars continues, and every so often he will insert such paragraphs as: "Every Hollywood producer who makes more than \$1,000 a week attended the Poland Bankses' cocktail party at the Ritz Towers. But you know what you can expect at a cocktail party these days."

In conformity with his employer, William Randolph Hearst, Cassini displays a certain coolness toward Russia, the New Deal and pre-Franco Spain. "Molotov had a special gangplank built for his own use for his departure on the *Queen Mary*," he noted recently, when the Soviet Foreign Minister went up the same old gangplank to board the *Queen Elizabeth*.

"The Soviets are great snobs. They don't want to mix with the masses."

Cassini occasionally branches out into economic discussions, in which he is probably the most interesting theorist since Marie Antoinette. "The marks of the New Deal are still to be seen everywhere," he wrote. "Newport, Long Island, New York, all show the signs of the times—great palaces, once glittering with lights, abandoned to the termites. And next to these wander hundreds of jobless men and women who consider it beneath their dignity to work for the rich folk." This situation he saw as responsible for the collapse of America's fundamental greatness—a greatness attributable to the fact that "its simplest and poorest citizen could always hope that he might one day be as rich as Rockefeller and drink tea with Mrs. Vanderbilt."

Society Remains

THE whole business, said Cassini, gave him seriously to think. Society was in a state of complete flux. In many instances, money had changed hands. Did Society still exist?

Cassini still has hope. "After more than a year on the job," he writes, "we think we can give you our answer. . . . A new Society has emerged—a composite of new and old, of new wealth and old names, of stage and social register, of Europe and America. Elegance and good manners still reign. Society is still here."

America— Economic Bad Neighbor?

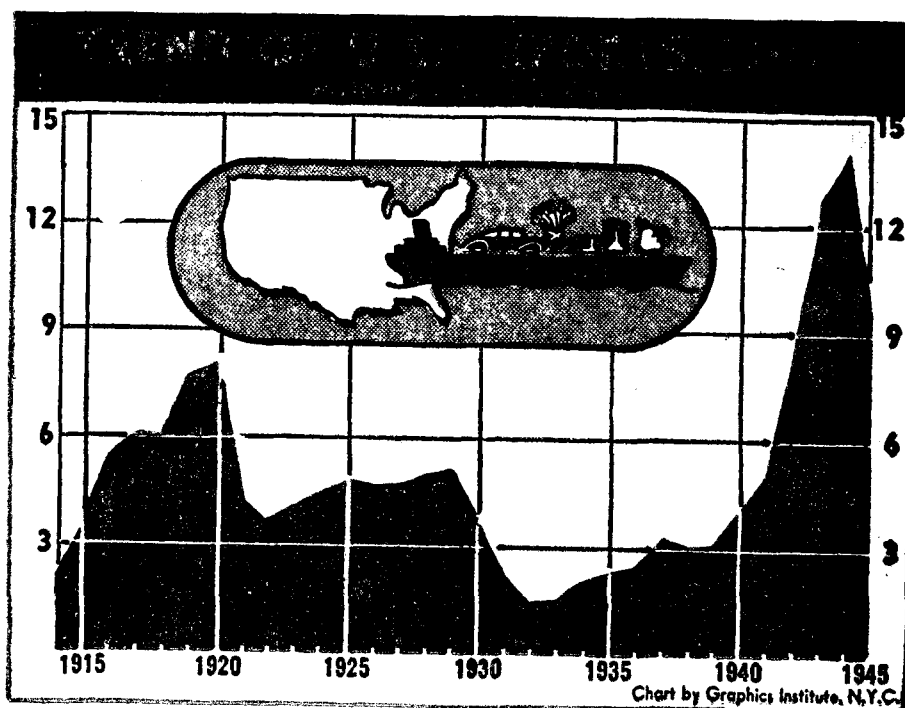
by Graham Hovey

Seen from abroad, an unplanned US economy means worldwide depression and trade stagnation

SOME OF the most sobering news this country has had to face in a long while is the recent revelation that the 17 major countries of the world engaged in international trade view us as a very poor business risk. These same powerful nations, furthermore, consider the United States, if not a sinister nation, then at least a cynical one whose protestations of sincerity cannot be trusted.

The whole thing began in London, when a group of men—the Preparatory

Committee for an International Conference on Trade and Employment—sat down to the outwardly colorless task of devising ways of doing more business among their nations while at the same time providing more jobs for their citizens. From the discussion records of the committee, which met at the request of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, it is evident that the delegates of the participating nations returned home with the following un-



flattering conclusions regarding the post-war US:

1. That, while other nations are gravely concerned over the possibility of a bad depression in this country, the US attitude at times seems almost frivolous.

2. That the American proposals for freer world trade will remain empty words until we take steps to ensure continuing full employment at home.

3. That there is little confidence at present we shall take such steps.

4. That the Republican election victory has made it difficult for other nations to believe that the United States means business when it talks of further tariff cuts and the increase of American purchases abroad; and that nations currently developing their "infant" industries will go ahead protecting them by stiff tariffs and big subsidies in order to freeze out foreign competition.

5. That there is no reason to believe the US is interested in readjusting its "favorable" balance of trade.

The most apparent fear current during the London talks was centered about the inevitability of a worldwide depression should the United States suffer an economic collapse. Many nations remember with poignant bitterness the last great depression and what it did to their own economies. Today, they are faced with the fact that it will be several years before their war-battered economies can be patched to the point where they can purchase sufficient quantities of badly needed American products. And this, they know, is possible only if they can acquire enough American dollars by selling their own goods here.

If We Have a Depression

AN American depression, the delegates realized, would completely vitiate any advantages caused by two-way tariff reductions. Lower tariffs or not, countries depending upon American markets would collapse disastrously if depression history repeated the figures of 1932. They recalled that it was in this year that American imports dropped from a pre-depression annual average of \$4.25 billion to \$1.3 billion.

Also noted at the meeting was the doubt prevailing among many nations

that this country would make serious efforts to maintain full employment and head off depression. This state of mind was induced by the general impression that the United States still depends too much upon an unregulated "free enterprise" as the answer to its problems.

Probably the most sobering theme underlying the discussions was the fear of a future war. Some observers attributed the eagerness on the part of several nations to build new industries to a definite case of war nerves. If such construction goes ahead, it is obvious that, in the event of another war, these nations would be much more economically self-sufficient. In this connection, it was found that Australia desires automotive and steel industries, India and Brazil want textile industries, while Cuba seeks greater freedom from her dependence upon agriculture, particularly sugar.

Plans for the ITO

THE collective fears and anxieties of the nations were recognized by the American government officials concerned with foreign-trade policy. Because the conference was called chiefly to draw up a draft charter for a permanent International Trade Organization (ITO) of the United Nations, the American delegation carried to London a "suggested charter" of its own. This document, according to William L. Clayton, Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, had been worked over for some months by "many persons of competence and experience in the departments and agencies of the United States Government." Just how well this 48-page charter covered various related subjects will be seen in the following tabulation of approximate wordage devoted to separate headings:

General Commercial Policy	8,800 words
Inter-governmental Com-	
modity Agreements	2,000 words
Restrictive Business Practices	1,500 words
Employment Provisions	230 words

Although the highly important chapter on "Employment Provisions" was treated most sketchily, it set forth the principle that a member nation of the ITO would be bound to "take action designed to achieve and maintain full employment within its own jurisdiction

through measures appropriate to its political and economic institutions." This lofty verbiage fooled no one, and it was instantly viewed as mostly pious generalities that could be set to soft music.

There was no chapter at all in our "suggested charter" on plans for economic advancement of the so-called "under-developed" countries. It did, however, recognize the existence of such a problem and devoted one sentence of 33 words to the subject.

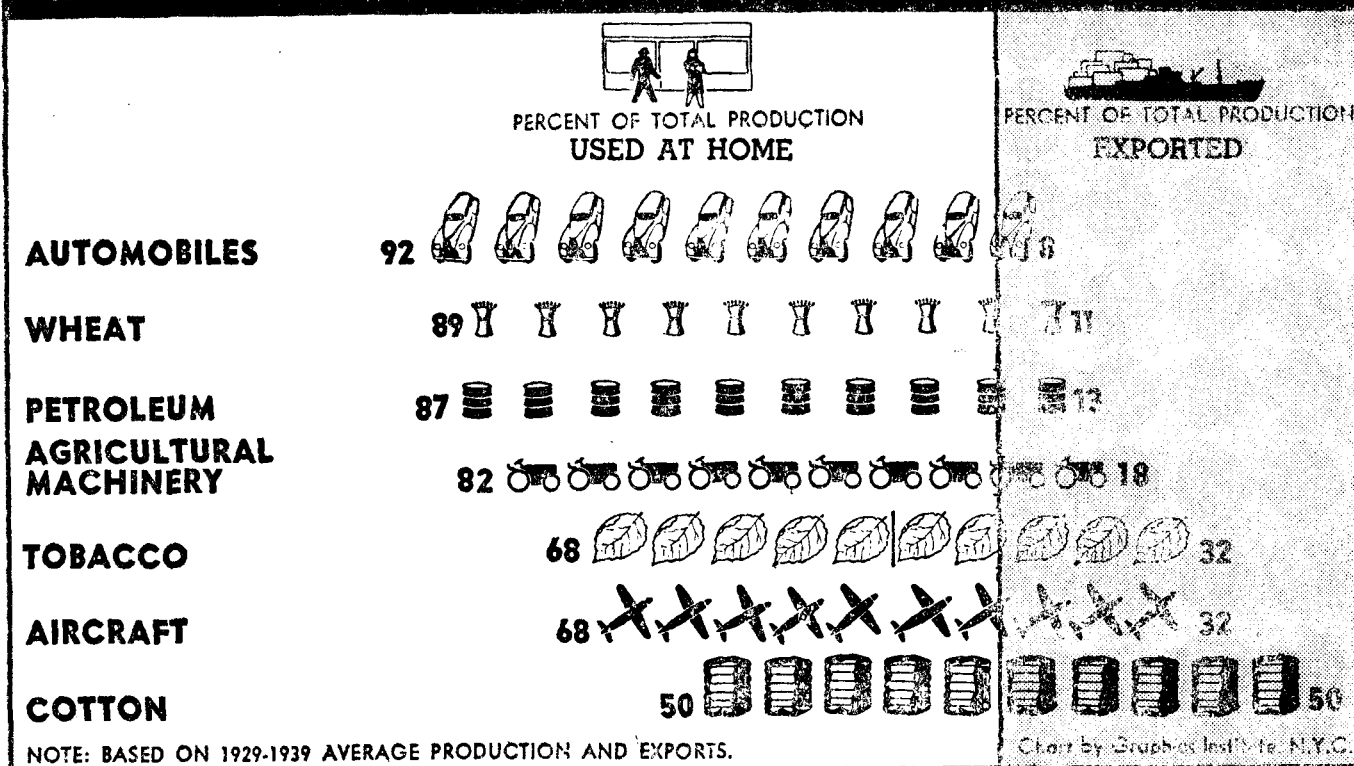
Conference delegates gingerly accepted the American "suggested charter" as a working discussion document in general. This ceremony completed, they then knuckled down to work and threw out our "Employment Provisions" chapter in its entirety and began all over again on that subject. The conference also added a complete separate chapter on "Economic Development," which would give such countries as India, Australia, Brazil and Cuba the freedom they demanded to protect new industries which they believe necessary to balance their respective economies.

As the meeting progressed, so did the bluntness of language directed at the American delegates. British and Australian members of the conference employment committee described the "Employment Provisions" chapter as the most inadequate part of the American "charter." In this respect, the Australian delegate was by far the most expert prime-mover, since the Australians have been prodding the Americans along on this subject ever since the monetary conference at Bretton Woods in 1944.

The Full-Employment Fight

HERE the battle lines began to form and the fight for an adequate full-employment pledge was largely headed by Edwin McCarthy, secretary of the Australian Department of Commerce and Agriculture. McCarthy insisted that this section of the charter should (1) lay down the principle that member countries in the ITO should spend as much abroad as they take in from their exports, and (2) contain the right of complaint to the ITO for any member country injured by the failure of another to carry out a satisfactory employment policy.

IMPORTANCE OF EXPORTS TO CERTAIN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES



These two provisions were aimed squarely at the United States. They were based on the fact that this country currently exports more than twice as much in dollar value as it imports, and on the old fears of the Australians and others that the US does not really mean business on full employment and other depression-preventing measures.

It was, therefore, not surprising that out of the London meeting came a suggested chapter on employment that was three times as long as the American effort. This offering was additionally decorated by a 280-word draft resolution on the subject. That this new chapter was free of platitudes is debatable; nonetheless, unlike its American counterpart, it was infinitely more detailed and covered some aspects not even mentioned in the American effort.

The new chapter on employment would make it an international obligation for all member nations to develop their economic resources and raise their standards of productivity. Also, while the American chapter made no reference to working conditions, the London product recognized that "all countries have a common interest in maintenance of fair labor standards" and would bind

members to take action to eliminate "substandard conditions of labor. . ."

The Australian suggestions, furthermore, would obligate a member nation to take steps to correct any glaring excess of exports, and even imports, when such a condition threatens to handicap other countries. Also, the chapter would recognize the need of member nations to take action "to safeguard their economies against deflationary pressure in the event of a serious or abrupt decline in the effective demand of other countries." Here again the mental reservation about an American depression is clear.

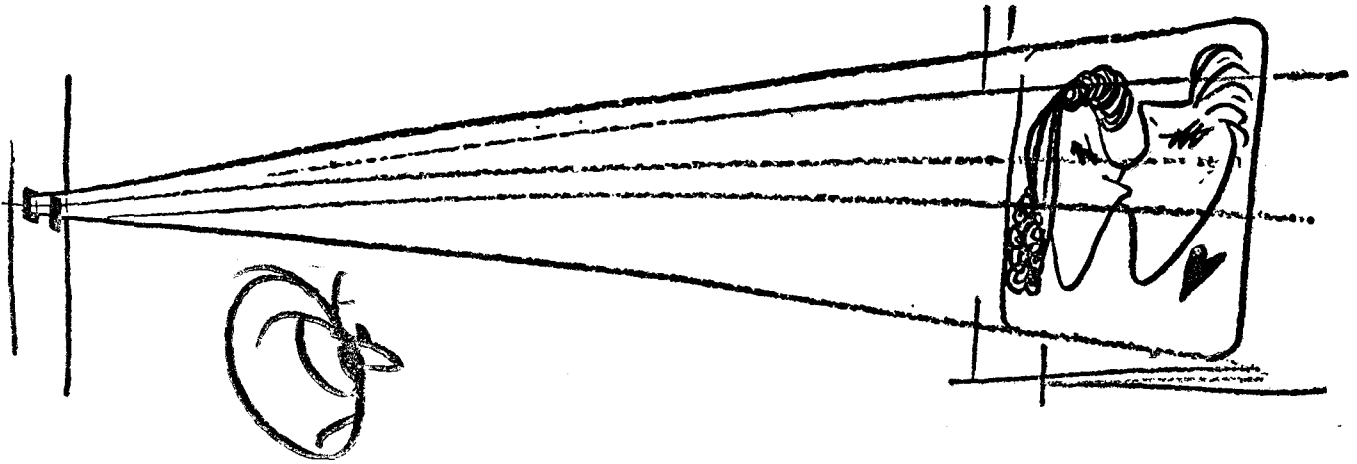
Questions to Be Answered

THE LONDON *Financial Times*, echoing the fears of many countries represented at the conference, asked editorially: "Does the United States aim at a permanent export balance? And is there any foundation for prevailing fears of a slump in that country?" The *Financial Times* made no charges. It simply asked questions. And the representatives of the 17 governments at the conference also asked these questions and anxiously awaited an answer. For, until a definite answer was forthcoming

from Congress and American industry, world trade would be at the mercy of the lurches of the US economy.

The United States delegation agreed to the revised chapters on full employment and economic development. In view of what the last Congress did to the full-employment bill, and the Republican election victory, this might be considered almost daring. Although the charter is only a proposal and binds no one, it is due to meet stubborn and bitter opposition from the 80th Congress. Already the NAM, which now claims to speak for the GOP lawmakers, has announced its opposition to the admittedly mild ITO proposals. "The suggested charter," said the *NAM News*, "has been so badly weakened" that there is "an increasing possibility that the Republican Congress may want to re-examine it with a view toward sweeping revisions." From industry's point of view, the NAM pontificated, "the Charter had some glaring weaknesses from the start."

With this green light from US business, the expected hatchet-work on America's foreign-trade policies by the conservative 80th Congress takes a top place in its early deliberations.



You'll See These Movies and Like It

The New Republic's Sneak Preview of What Hollywood Will Do in 1947



¶ George Raft will star in a movie in which he plays the part of a gang leader. Before entering the den of a rival gang leader intent on slaying him, he will throw away all his guns. Although ten dead-shot gangsters empty their revolvers at him, he escapes.



¶ A cowboy hero will rescue the heroine twelve or fourteen times from imminent death by avalanche, stampede, prairie fire and desperado. Although they are madly in love, at the last minute when she is palpitating to throw herself into his arms, he will kiss his horse instead.

¶ Alan Ladd will star in a remake of *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, in which Jules Verne's submarine will be brought up to date by making it a jet-propelled, non-stop, round-the-world airplane. Ladd plays the steward, who is cruelly beaten by the pilot for spilling hot coffee on him. In the ensuing fist fight during a terrific storm over the middle of the Atlantic Ocean the pilot, presumably the only member of the crew who can fly a plane, is accidentally killed. Just as the ship is about to crash the beautiful stewardess, who loves Ladd, reveals the fact that she is a well known gun moll who is fleeing the police, and knows how to fly a plane. This accomplishment is, in fact, the only clue the police have had to her identity. When they land safely, the passengers all agree to take her secret to the grave.



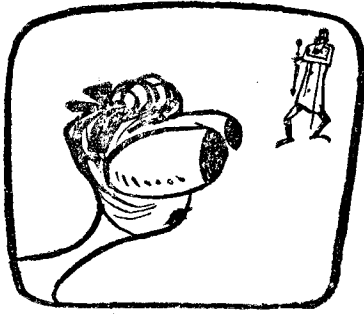
¶ Darryl Zanuck will make a technicolor history of the life of William Howard Taft in 200 reels, of which only 196 will be shown on the screen. Taft will weigh 650 pounds and have six chins, the last two of solid gold.



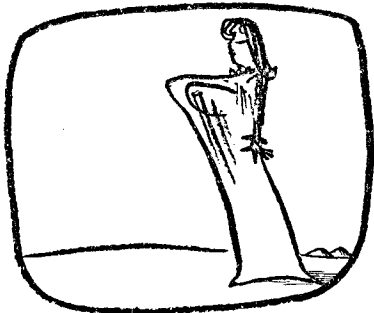
¶ Eighty million moviegoers will again wonder why Disney doesn't stick to Donald Duck.



¶ Zeppo will make a comeback and the Four Marx Brothers will produce *The Three Musketeers*. To round out the team, the script (bowing to the exigencies of period writing) will include a good, fat part for Groucho as Cyrano de Bergerac.

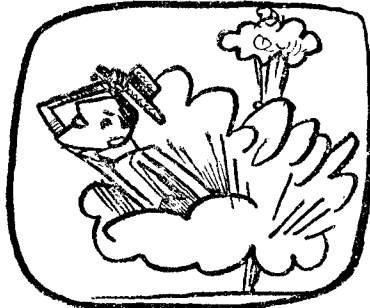


¶ Bette Davis will star in a film in which she is a prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp. The Nazi doctor assigned to torture her is her own illegitimate son whom she recognizes by the scars where she sat him down on a hot stove as a baby; he does not recognize her. For some reason which he does not understand, he is unable to go through with the torture. They both escape to America, where he becomes a lawyer, having changed his name and identity. She is now tried for the murder of the Nazi doctor who had disappeared, and he defends her in court. She cannot reveal who he is because he entered the United States illegally. She is sentenced to death but her son, now aware of her identity, shows the Governor his scars and she is pardoned at the last possible second before the execution.

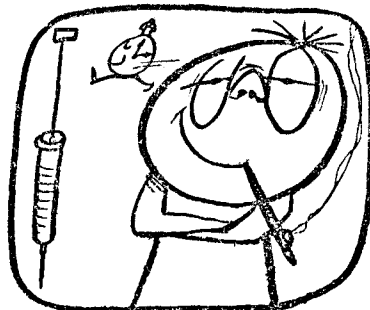


¶ Jane Russell will star in a film in which she has to wear a Mother Hubbard throughout because she can't get her sweater on.

¶ Sam Goldwyn will make a movie entitled "Best Years of Our Lives Were While You Were Away," in which twelve ordinary GI's (played by twelve non-professional actors chosen by lot from the younger members of the Hollywood Rotary Club) come back from the war. Nothing at all happens to them, for reels and reels and reels.



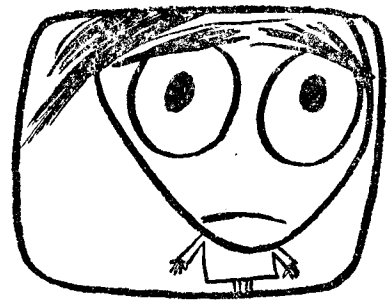
¶ Don Ameche will invent the atomic bomb.



¶ The March of Time will make "DOPE, and Your Child."



¶ Fitzpatrick Travelogues will make "Greece, Ancient Cradle of Classic Mythology," and "Indo-China, Picturesque Land of Spices."

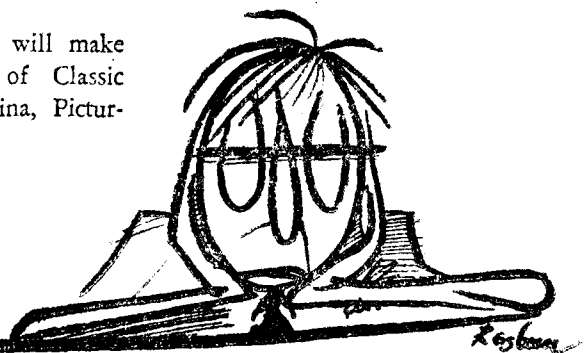


¶ The movies will make the life of Eddie Cantor, in which Cantor will be allowed to play himself, but his songs will all be dubbed in, the singing voice being that of Minnie Mouse.



¶ Gregory Peck and Ann Sothorn will co-star in a film in which, because of the housing shortage, they are forced, although apparently total strangers, to spend a week together in a single hotel room. When love rapidly ripens, it will turn out that they were married some time earlier while he was unconscious from a blow on the head and she was equally so from the normal level of Hollywood intelligence around her.

... One
in the
Balcony





United Nations News



After the Finale

IN THE HEAT of a General Assembly session one is apt to forget that the United Nations has other branches. When the Assembly completes its vast accumulation of work at a yearly session, it adjourns. But the Security Council continues to meet; the Secretariat continues planning the new site and performing its technical day-to-day duties.

Last week the Security Council and its most important branch, the Atomic Energy Commission, were holding separate meetings with the General Assembly's record of unanimity fresh in their minds. The Security Council reached unanimous agreement on an investigating commission which will establish the facts about trouble in the Balkans. The Atomic Energy Commission, studying Baruch's proposals for outlawing the veto in all phases of atomic control, reached only forced agreement. Russia's Andrei Gromyko took no part in referring Baruch's proposals to committee for redrafting. He was waiting for instructions from his government. It was no delaying tactic; Molotov had just arrived in Moscow. Nor was he alone in wanting more time before the final showdown on the veto. The veto, after all, was the real test of unanimity. And this time it might be necessary for Baruch to forget pride of authorship and fears of Senate disapproval. The Russians had conceded important points; Gromyko had legality and votes in the Commission on his side. It might be Baruch's turn to make a concession.

A BRAHAM FELLER, the UN's general counsel, who has handled the site problem, last week had to throw a good bit of his preliminary work out the window. He had drawn up a draft contract between the United States and the United Nations which covered all manner of acquisitional, demolitional and structural problems in country areas. Then suddenly Rockefeller came up with \$8.5 million for an urban site. Out went all the clauses dealing with country

zoning. Out went the clause by which the United States would have bought and condemned the land. Mr. Feller will have a new contract drawn up in time to acquire the East River site from Webb and Knapp by January 10. And after the initial legal problems are out of the way, he and the UN planning staff and the city will go ahead with a tentative program.

Meanwhile Turtle Bay remains untouched except for a New York City Housing Authority building under construction at Forty-second Street which is excluded from the UN site. The remainder of the Forty-second to Forty-eighth Streets section contains slaughterhouses, small delicatessens, gas stations, bars, houses and the offices of Local 1010, AFL Construction Laborers. It won't do the city any esthetic harm to have these buildings torn down, but some of the tenants are worried.

It doesn't matter to Swift's United Dressed Beef Plant or to Wilson and Company. Webb and Knapp had planned to rebuild the area along twentieth-century lines even before the UN proposal was made, and the big companies knew it. But the small shopkeepers—David Abramowitz with his 24-year-old tire-repair shop; Frank Kwasniewski with his 16-year-old delicatessen, and Jack's Tavern (a First Avenue landmark for 52 years)—are all somewhat worried about the future. They don't know when they'll have to get out, or where they'll go, or how they can start rebuilding trade and goodwill in a new location.

Actually Abramowitz and Kwasniewski can count on the city's Relocation Bureau to help them get resettled. And they probably won't have to move for a year, or perhaps two years.

WHEN the League of Nations collapsed, there were those who argued that it had died of sheer boredom—boredom caused by diplomatic speeches and the time necessary to translate them. The United Nations, starting

at a later date and in a considerably less formal atmosphere, has avoided that pitfall partly by the outspoken caliber of its delegates and partly by using a system known as simultaneous interpretation.

The system was tried at Nuremberg with excellent results and some of the interpreters who helped speed Goering's trial came to New York under the direction of Colonel L. E. Dostert—himself a graduate of the Nuremberg experiment—to do the job for the UN.

At the recent General Assembly session the simultaneous-interpretation system was used in two conference rooms and speeded those meetings by 40 percent. It will be extended before the next Assembly but will not entirely replace the direct translations which allow delegates more time to think up an answer. There are experiments going on now with walkie-talkie equipment that would allow a delegate to have a drink in the bar without missing a word.

At present there aren't enough expert translators to handle the job. From 200 applicants Colonel Dostert selected only 30, half of them former college professors. These interpreters worked seven hours a day seven days a week during the Assembly and lived in constant fear of laryngitis. Dostert hopes to double the staff before the next session.

FOR the record, Vishinsky speaks faster than any other UN delegate; some 70 percent of the speeches are delivered in English with French, Russian, Spanish and Chinese, following in that order; Chinese is used in less than two percent of the speeches.

One of the French-English interpreters was thrown for a loss at an Assembly committee meeting when the delegate from Egypt decided to speak in French instead of English, as had been expected. The next thing the delegates heard through their earphones was an irate voice saying, "Jesus, how could I know he was going to speak French?"

And when the debate on Spain got so hot that five delegates were talking at once, one of the interpreters decided he had had a hard day anyhow. He gave up trying to untangle the mess and let out a long, audible sigh of resignation.

JANE BEDELL



Farm



One World for the Farmer.

DOWN on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington these days a group of men (representatives of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization) are sitting around a table trying to figure out a way to beat the coming agricultural depression. They know—everybody knows—that this depression is inevitable unless some kind of international action is taken to avoid it.

The present meetings grew out of a proposal made last September by Sir John Orr, Secretary General of the FAO. The main point in Sir John's plan was to establish an international fund, internationally controlled, to buy, store and sell goods to stabilize prices. The food would be distributed at cheap prices to nations that needed it. Orr's plan, besides an ever normal world granary, also called for the development of the so-called backward areas where millions of people have always been undernourished.

It is common knowledge that there has never been a time when there weren't millions of people starving all over the world. When agricultural technology was in its infancy, such a condition seemed inevitable. There just wasn't enough to go around.

But the agricultural revolution made such a condition ridiculous because, at least in America since 1920, farmers produced so much food they wrecked the price structure. By 1929 the wolf was at the door and by 1932 he had chased the farmer out of his house.

One reason the American farmer couldn't sell this stuff was that he couldn't find any foreign customers. The hungry people overseas either didn't have the money to buy American food or their governments put up such high economic fences that it couldn't get through. The export market went to pieces. In 1919 the farmer sold \$4 billion worth of produce outside the United States and in 1932 \$590 million. Even with recovery under Roosevelt, American farm ex-

ports were only about one-sixth of what they had been in 1919. Economists say that although the export market accounts for only about 10 percent of agricultural production (this is true the world over), it is the crucial 10 percent in depressing or raising prices.

Right now we are just getting ready for the next depression. It's the same old story. Today the farmer couldn't even give away potatoes if the government were not footing the bill. Next year and the year after the same thing will happen to other crops. History will be repeating itself except that we shall probably have price support on a huge scale, with the taxpayers carrying the load.

Other countries are going to compete with American farmers. England, our best customer, will do it by expanding agriculture with price guarantees and direct payments to farmers. And Argentina, Australia and Brazil will do it because they can grow wheat, rice and cotton at lower than parity prices.

THESE facts indicate why the present attempt of the preparatory commission to work out a substitute for the World Food Board suggested by Sir John Orr is so important. Local critics of Sir John's plan have been quick to point out that the pool would not necessarily be controlled by the United States. Presumably this country would have only one vote and would not be able to dominate the World Food Board even if it contributed most of the food.

The fact that this plan has been adversely criticized by the State and Agriculture Departments and that everybody says that the new Congress would never accept such an idea is another indication that our present leaders have turned their backs on the vision and idealism of Roosevelt.

The result of the present conference has so far been a compromise. The main outlines of Sir John's plan have been thrown out of the window. Here is what is coming out of the FAO Preparatory Commission. First, the Commission

recommends that price stabilization be worked out on a commodity basis. Every producer and consumer nation would make a treaty on each important commodity and agree on a price range. For example, an agreement will be made for cotton. The price will be set within the limits, say, of 20 to 25 cents, and the countries will agree not to do anything to upset these limits.

Each country will have a stockpile of its surplus goods and all countries concerned will agree to a quota system of exports. Supported price systems of the member countries will be respected and internally the governments will use support of prices much as they do now. As far as the United States is concerned, prices outside the country will be lower and in case of famine the food might be given away altogether.

THE impression I got from looking over these recommendations after reading Sir John's stimulating and ambitious proposal is that the new compromise plan is a weak sister. The best that can be said for it is that it offers at least in part an international solution for an international problem. Those concerned with food have been more preoccupied of late by international back-biting than by international cooperation or the alleviation of human misery or the avoidance of another farm depression. Perhaps the recommendations of the FAO Commission will mean a reversal of such policies.

Our farmers will be better off if others eat, and so shall we all. By attacking food-export and hunger problems on the international level we can stop the tide of hatred that is running against us. Whether we like it or not—whether the American farmer likes it or not—there is only one world of food. And if we try to make it two or three or fifty, we'll end up in war as sure as God made little apples. If Congress is wise it will not play the old game of power politics with food.

On a cold winter night pigs lie close together to keep from freezing. Pigs realize instinctively that they live in one world, so they get together. It remains to be seen whether a Republican Congress will act as wisely as a pig.

ANGUS McDONALD



Books



The Japanese Way

WITH JAPAN," says Ruth Benedict in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Houghton Mifflin, \$3.50), "we must use that amount of hardness, no more and no less, which will break up old and dangerous patterns of aggressiveness, and set new goals." There are many criticisms of our method of occupying Japan, but the results have been surprising. How is it possible that a nation which fought so bitterly has become overnight so cooperative? The answer is at the root of the Japanese character. It is Japan's sensitiveness to honor as she conceives honor. Honor through war has failed her. She is ready in an extraordinarily realistic way to try honor through peace. In family and in national life slurs upon honor have always assumed great importance. Our occupation of Japan has been successful because we have avoided humiliating her.

In Japan's only victory over a great power, the Japanese spoke with pride of being generous conquerors—the Russians had never been humiliated. In working toward some comprehension of the cruelty of Japanese soldiers, it is necessary to remember the slurs upon Japanese honor caused by the Exclusion Act and the fact that Japan treated her own nationals in an equally cruel and heartless way. This treatment followed her entire attitude toward prisoners of war. Japanese treatment of her own troops during the war seemed incredible to us. Our treatment of US troops appeared to her equally strange. Japanese soldiers were expendable, medical facilities bad, rescue teams practically nonexistent. Safety devices on our planes were called cowardice. A Japanese radio commentator, broadcasting the news of an American admiral decorated for bringing two damaged warships to safety, spoke of "the curious fact that rescuing damaged warships merits decoration in the United States." The Japanese were astounded by US prisoners of war who actually wanted their gov-

ernment notified of their whereabouts. Would it not have been more natural to pretend to be dead? The Japanese were woefully ignorant of our character to be surprised on such fundamental questions. We, on the other hand, showed an equal ignorance of their natures.

MISS BENEDICT believes we know too little of what makes a Japanese a Japanese, or for that matter what makes a Russian a Russian, or an American an American. One thing she thinks is certain: We are dealing with civilizations so different from our own that the "one world" we hope for must be a world safe for these differences, not a world where the differences will all be absorbed into the same pattern. Otherwise we shall fail.

Their society is now and has always been hierarchical. Japan entered the war to extend her national hierarchy to an international one, with herself at the top. At the top in her own country is the emperor, a substitute for the feudal lords of ancient times, yet possessing an immunity from criticism that the feudal lord never had. In the 1880's the Japanese statesmen sent observers to Occidental countries and, upon receiving the reports of history being made in many countries by the conflicts between rulers and their subjects, determined to place their emperor above all controversies. Therefore, though the Emperor represents "the unity of Japan" and is Japan herself, he is not blamed for any failure or criticized for any shortcoming. While during the war even the military and the government were criticized, no judgment was passed on the Emperor. The soldier might only say, "He does not know under what conditions we fight." Like the father in the Japanese family, his wish is law: "If the Emperor says so, we will fight to the death, even with bamboo poles." In this way arms were laid down without question when the Emperor spoke his words of surrender. The fact that it was the Emperor who first went to call on MacAr-

thur and not MacArthur who called on the Emperor was an example to the Japanese of the correct behavior to conquerors.

In the family the father stands at the peak of his little hierarchy. His wife and children serve him on their knees. Parents can break a son's marriage even if the son is middle-aged and happily married. The injustice of such a situation would be unbearable to us. To the Japanese there is nothing strange about it. Indebtedness to one's Emperor and indebtedness to one's parents play an enormous role in Japanese life. One goes on repaying the debt as long as one lives and never considers it repaid by "one ten-thousandth."

Early in the education of a child at home and in school he is vividly shown the importance of conforming to the most rigid standards. He is taught stoicism and self-control at all costs. At the same time he is taught to be hypersensitive about his honor, and to avenge it "as he goes to a morning tub." He knows that his school group and his family group will not be loyal to him if he is in disgrace or misconducts himself. His honor becomes involved in the smallest and, at times, the most ridiculous matters. Revenge on another or violence to himself are ways of clearing his name. One can well imagine a parallel between Christian preoccupation with sin and Japanese preoccupation with honor.

THE Japanese attitude to morals and to the pleasures of the senses differs sharply from our own. All human feelings are thought to be good if allocated to their proper place in life. The sensual pleasures are cultivated, but must not gain ascendancy over a man's mind. If a man can afford it, he keeps a mistress. But his life with her and his life with his wife and family are separate, not because one is hidden and the other in the open, but because they belong to different levels of importance. Man for the Japanese was not conceived in sin, and the flesh and the spirit are not at war with each other. Great importance is at the same time placed on asceticism. Though it is good to relish an excellent meal, it is also good to be able to go without it. It is right to enjoy a long soaking in a hot bath and equally right

to be able to rise three times on a cold winter night and sit under a waterfall. The point of enduring voluntary discomfort is to cease to notice it. This is its own reward; it has none in the hereafter. Preoccupation with life after death is alien to the Japanese, as are sin and heaven and hell. At his death, each man, no matter what his station, becomes automatically a buddha (a non-hierarchical procedure). There is no evil. One course of action is good and the other less good. The wisdom is in the choosing.

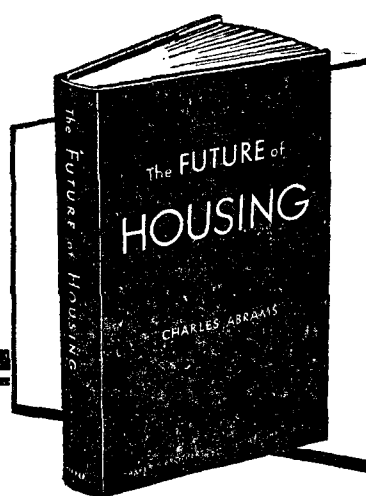
Miss Benedict believes that now the Japanese, as in other periods of their history, have seen the wisdom of a totally different course of action. Just as Japan hoped to make the world over in her image, so we have the natural itch to mold the world into our own. Japan cannot remodel herself on a Western democracy, yet within the framework of her institutions Miss Benedict believes that a great deal can be done. Already the encouragement of labor unions has bettered working conditions for many Japanese. A sensitive, artistic and ambitious nation with its national income devoted to improving the living conditions of her people, rather than building an army, will find an honorable place among other nations. We must convince the Japanese that national peace and honor are one, and we must set an example that will be worth following.

BONTÉ DURAN

"Forever Amber"

DURING JANUARY, Kathleen Winsor's novel, *Forever Amber*, will appear as the defendant at a trial in the Suffolk County Superior Court at Boston. This will be the first test of a new Massachusetts law against obscenity which is such a great improvement over the old one that it can be called history making without abusing the modesty of language.

One could wish for a more considerable defendant. *Amber* isn't good enough to be suppressed. It doesn't deserve a place on the shelf of honor with such works as *Ulysses*, *The Decameron* and *Huckleberry Finn*. Its selection marks a sad falling off from the traditionally excellent taste of the Massachusetts



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censors. It isn't even good showmanship. The unworthiness of the defendant will inevitably dim the luster of the case, whichever way the decision may fall. What could Judge Woolsey have said of *Forever Amber*?

Boston being what it is, doubtless better books will go on trial later. The new law will not necessarily save them, but it will give them a fighting chance. For this we owe thanks to two men: Hiller Wellman, head of the Springfield City Library, and William Fuller, proprietor of the Old Corner Bookshop in Boston. Wellman conceived the law and got the Massachusetts Library Association to sponsor it before the legislature; Fuller did the necessary button-holing, letter writing, telephoning and speechmaking. Both are gentlemen of great urbanity and acuity, representatives of a Massachusetts spirit that has been all but forgotten. They deserve the gratitude of all who value the right to read. The new law protects that right in five ways:

1. It makes a distinction between books on the one hand and magazines and pictures on the other, and recognizes a difference between children and adults. A bookseller may be prosecuted for selling a book considered obscene only if the purchaser is less than 18 years old; prosecution for the sale of magazines and pictures considered obscene does not depend on the age of

the purchaser. Thus a check on the sale of obvious pornography does not abridge, as it formerly did, the right of adults to buy books.

2. Only a district attorney or the attorney general can bring suit to prevent the sale of a book. This eliminates direct legal action by the police, by private groups such as the Watch and Ward Society and by individuals; it also tends to reduce the force of threats, which, rather than actual lawsuits, have been responsible for most of Boston's book bannings. (No suit has ever been brought against *Ulysses* in that city, but it isn't sold there.)

3. In the case of books, the seller can be prosecuted only if he sells them to persons under 18 years of age after the books have been legally held obscene. Formerly he was prosecuted for having sold a book whose obscenity could be established only at his trial. Under the new law, obscenity must be established by a civil suit against the book.

4. In the past the merits of the book as literature or scholarship had nothing to do with the case. But section 28 F of the new law provides that the court "may receive the testimony of experts and may receive evidence as to the literary, cultural or educational character of said book."

5. Suit must be brought in a court of equity, with a jury only if the defend-

ant requests one. In equity cases the Supreme Court, on appeal, may review the facts; in other cases it is limited to reviewing the law and the formal conduct of the trial. This means that the Supreme Court can independently decide whether a book is or is not obscene; formerly it could decide only whether the lower court might with some reason consider it obscene. In the *Strange Fruit* case, the tone of the majority decision against the book seemed to indicate that the learned justices themselves did not think it obscene but had to admit that the lower court might reasonably differ. It is conceivable that under the new law the Supreme Court, technically without reversing itself, might decide that *Strange Fruit* could be sold in Boston. It is a nice point.

J. MITCHELL MORSE

Constance Garnett

THE RECENT DEATH of Constance Garnett brought to an end the career of the best-known translator of Russian classics into English. Since the turn of the century she had translated more than 60 volumes of the most celebrated work of Gogol, Goncharov, Turgenyev, Herzen, Ostrovsky, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Chekhov. Among her major efforts were the *Novels of Ivan Turgenyev* in 17 volumes, the *Novels of Fyodor Dostoevsky* in 12 volumes, and the *Tales of Chekhov* in 13 volumes. Literally millions of American and English readers are indebted to her tireless energy for their first knowledge of a whole new world of fiction and drama, which in turn has exercised a powerful influence on many of our prominent authors who have never learned a word of Russian. For this eminent service, we must be grateful.

When this has been said, it must also be said that Mrs. Garnett's devotion to the Russians has not been an unmixed blessing. Since she was first in the field, since she covered that field so thoroughly, and since there were so few people in the Anglo-American literary world competent to judge the quality of her work, she has through the years been largely unchallenged and above competition. The facts are, however, that she was a commercial translator working



"... And the State of Massachusetts further charges against one Zeus: rape; Romulus: fratricide; Taffy: theft; R. Van Winkle: non-support; H. Finn: truancy..."

under the pressure of deadlines, that she was a product of the Victorian Age and shared the prejudices and pruderies of her time. There is the further point (which can be made even by those who know no Russian) that there is a suspicious similarity in the styles of the great and dissimilar talents to which she devoted herself.

This is no moment to carp at the unquestionably great contribution Mrs. Garnett has made to the richness of English reading. It is perhaps the moment to suggest that other translators from the Russian should now be given their day in the field and that the vast body of Mrs. Garnett's work should be reexamined in the light of modern critical standards.

Crime and Punishment

The Moving Toyshop, by Edmund Crispin (Lippincott, \$2). Gervase Fen, professor of English Language and Literature at Oxford, again tackles murder, this time on home grounds. Aided by a minor poet, who blunders into a very nasty set-up, Fen has himself a field day over a terrain littered almost equally with dead bodies and literary allusions. Good fun if you're fed up with the hard-boiled school.

Murder Miscellany.—Marco Page's *Fast Company* was a lively detective story about some hilarious angles of the publishing game; his new one, *The Shadowy Third* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, \$2.50), deals with professional musicians and tells how world-famous Igor Krassin lost both his Stradivarius and his life. The cast and dialogue are amusing. *The Chinese Doll*, by Wilson Tucker (Rinehart, \$2.50), is a haunting story of the curious goings-on that follow a young private investigator's getting involved with a mighty slick gambling racket, plus two beautiful Chinese girls. A likable first attempt.

E. H.

Bonté Duran has studied at Barnard College and at Oxford. She is the wife of Gustavo Duran, who is on the staff of the United Nations in New York City.

J. Mitchell Morse, a former member of the staff of the Nation, is now free-lancing in New York City.

Bandwagon

75-25 or Fight

Randolph Churchill, portly, graying son of Winston Churchill . . . could forecast no pleasanter picture than "inevitable war" between Russia and the English-speaking nations. "Many people are now paying lip-service to the idea of one world today," he continued, "but the only way to build one world is to put the British Empire and America together now and add the smaller nations one by one. We can't have one world today, but that is no reason why we shouldn't have three-fourths of a world." — *From the Cincinnati Enquirer*.

We Could Tell You Now

Note: An informal discussion of Jewels will be conducted in this space during the current opera season. This is number one of a series, in question and answer form.

Question: Why do certain boxholders at the opera refrain from ever wearing some of their Jewels kept in the box at the Bank?

Answer: Because the Jewels are either obsolete or no longer wanted.

Question: What should be done with unused or unwanted Jewels?

The answer will be given on this page in next week's program. — *From an advertisement of William Elder Marcus, Inc., in the Metropolitan Opera House program*.

Snake Eyes

Julian E. Tierney, 38, former master sergeant, who says he is a "master craftsman" at making loaded dice, has filed suit in Federal Court in Kansas City against an accessories firm, charging it refused to restore him to his prewar job. Tierney said it took long training to learn the precision work necessary to adulterate dice. — *From a picture caption in the Louisville Courier-Journal*

Holy, Holy, Holy

Fifty thousand copies of the four-page, English-language newspaper, *Nippon Times*, were seized by American occupation officers and burned in an attempt to remove from public reading an

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issue which contained a translation of an editorial from the vernacular *Iji* newspaper which had admonished the Japanese people to avoid blind worship of General MacArthur as another symbol of God. — *Tokyo dispatch in* Editor and Publisher.

Dead as the Dinosaur

Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, who will be Speaker of the House in the session opening January 3, received today a gavel made of petrified wood said to be 15 million years old. — *AP dispatch from Washington.*

Staff of Life

"It is a fallacy to label the diamond a 'luxury.' It never has been one. On the contrary, it is the one single item that has a beneficent effect upon the morale of the nation." — *W. Waters Schwab, president of J. R. Wood & Sons, ring manufacturers, as quoted in the New York Times.*

Worst to Worst

Paul D. Angell, secretary of the Chicago Building Congress, felt that the decontrol move would iron out most of the building problems. It won't hurt the veteran, he said, because the so-called "veterans' housing program was already in a state of chaos." — *From the Chicago Sun.*

On the Home Front

If you'd like to spend 10 days at . . . the north end of the beach—here is a typical \$500 budget outlined by David Porvin of the President Madison:

A room, at \$20 per day, \$200.
Food, at \$8.50 a day, \$85.
Tips, etc., \$12.75.
Two night-club visits, \$24.
A sightseeing trip, \$6.50.

That comes to \$328.25, and leaves you \$171.75 for anything you like. Figures like these, given out by a man who operates one of the fine hotels on the beach, serve to contradict the usual blather about highway robbery. — *From a story about Miami Beach in the Chicago Daily News.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS



Theatre



Welcome Repertory

THE American Repertory Theatre opens its fourth program with a one-act piece of Sean O'Casey's, "Pound on Demand," followed by what turns out to be a rapturously humorous fable of early Christians and late lions by Bernard Shaw at his wittiest and most elusive and this new repertory theatre at its heartiest and most lovable.

"Pound on Demand" is the story of a drunk who is trying, with a friend's help, to draw that sum from his post-office account, the only opposition being a lady who wants to get a letter to a destination unknown to the postmistress. All very Irish, shall we say?

I don't insist that audiences must think so, but the playlet is interesting, not as entertainment but as theatre commentary. Such bits as these, in which nothing happens but the situation itself, used to be the stock-in-trade of vaudeville, and used, also, in a slightly more literary form, to be a feature of the Irish theatre, under Lady Gregory and Yeats and others. The performance by the American Repertory Theatre does not, even with the help of players like Ernest Truex and Margaret Webster, get very far, but it illustrates a state of things and a problem.

Pieces like this, when they adorned the programs of vaudeville stages, were in the hands of true and tried performers who knew how to watch every moment and be sure it went over. What they did rested on a skill that experience alone could give, an infallible sense of the audience at every point. Such a thing is not possible for our players today; they have had no chance to learn such a technique even if they wanted to. The only justification for such an event would be the appearance of some beloved player of the three-a-day school, whose every movement would be a matter of delight or curious expectation from a devoted audience.

As to "Androcles and the Lion," I must confess I wondered, having seen it twice in other years, whether this

old Shaw piece would be a bore or not. It was not a bore at all.

The story is a fable sweet with Christian associations, for everybody knows how Saint Jerome plucked the thorn from the lion's paw and was ever afterward beloved. Shaw's genius appears in the manner in which he leaves the story virtually the same but makes it say what he wants it to say.

What he wants it to say is brilliant and delicious. There are the Christian young lady, the handsome Roman captain in love with her, the Greek tailor with his gentle love of animals, Ferrovius the fighter, fiery and voluminous, and others; they go through their emotions, they react to the tragic and the lurid moment. But meanwhile everyone remains the same, remains himself. This is the wit of the play, and it is a divinely happy wit. I was amazed at its freshness, its resilience, its bounce and easy touch, despite the years (this was no doubt my own stupidity, taking such an account of sheer time). The role of Ferrovius, for example, carefully attended, is a veritable *tour de force* in human weakness, impulse and warmth. The key to the whole play, as regards its basic wit, can be found in a sentence in the handbook of revolutionary maxims that appeared early, in the days of "Man and Superman." This maxim says that if you convert a savage to Christianity it only means that you convert Christianity to savagery. That is a remark which covers much more than Christianity, of course. We cannot stress enough how boisterously, subtly and completely the scenes in "Androcles" are created from this idea.

Ernest Truex as Androcles, that gentle animal-loving Christian, married to a Socratic plague of a wife, could not be better; his portrayal must be the best in a considerable list of those who have tried that part. Philip Bourneuf as Caesar essayed the style that Sydney Greenstreet used for the parasite in Giradoux's "Amphitryon," as presented by the Lunts; an elusive, difficult approach which comes off very wittily for this Shaw Caesar.

STARK YOUNG



Correspondence

*Two Half-Truths*

SIR: The New York Times has, perhaps incautiously, let at least one cat out of its well filled bag. In an editorial (December 13) on the new CIO wage demands, the Times states: "In short, full employment requires the use . . . of marginal plant capacity, and we can have this situation only under conditions which yield relatively high profits for efficient, low-cost concerns and large aggregate profits for business as a whole." That is frank, and it undoubtedly contains a good half-truth.

On the other hand, the CIO argument that the maintenance of full employment depends upon raising consumer purchasing power at the expense of aggregate profits is equally valid. It is likewise a half-truth.

If one puts these two half-truths together, what is the whole truth that emerges? Is it not that production for profit and full employment are incompatible? And if this is so, does it not follow that socialism is the only way out for those who are not dependent on profits for their livelihood?

I think these are fair questions, and I should like to know the liberal answer to them.

Wilton, N. H.

PAUL M. SWEETZ

Civil Servants' Civil Rights

SIR: "Loyalty tests" for civil-service employees have received little critical attention from the press. Yet they are a problem which is dangerous to the principles of our Constitution and its Bill of Rights. I think that these tests are subversive in the correct meaning of the word.

Applicants for civil-service positions are disqualified if they have shown adherence to any organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by violence. . . . A more stringent test is applied to actual employees of the service. If there is a "reasonable" suspicion that a civil servant has changed his private convictions once or twice with changes in the Communist Party line, then he faces dismissal. Support has been given to this type of thinking in [Republican] campaign speeches. . . . Will these speeches . . . push us back to the Red-baiting of A. Mitchell Palmer?

The loose manner in which Republican Chairman Reece and ex-Ambassador Hurley use such terms as "alien philosophy," "radical" and "subversive" causes me particular concern. They fire this verbal buckshot at government employees in a

manner which contrasts with that of Justices Holmes and Brandeis when they dealt with sedition cases from the Supreme Court bench. Both judges dissented from the conviction of men because of the "bad tendency" of their ideas, and Holmes laid down the "clear-and-present-danger" rule which generally guides the Court today.

This rule would certainly bar from civil service an individual training at a Bundist camp as part of a private army. We would have positive proof of his intent and plan to overthrow the government by force. The same would apply to a Communist who had received a fair and impartial hearing which proved that he gave secret data to a foreign power. . . . However, I do not think that the same rule applies to civil servants who merely blow off steam at extremist rallies or who frequent pinkish soirees. Their private convictions may impress others as foolish or erratic, but they may nevertheless be perfectly honest and trustworthy on the job. . . .

Our civil-service policy has included several ingredients of totalitarianism: discrimination against political non-conformism, censorship of free speech, limitation on freedom of assembly, anti-unionism and racism. While the cause of democracy is not lost, I find evidence that strong native American influences affect our political life and administrative policy in a manner which saps at democracy. . . .

Boston, Mass.

T. NOEL STERN

NR Paper

SIR: Here is one reader who prefers the present *butcher paper* used by the NR. It is very good because it does not reflect light glare. What do your other readers think?

Cambridge, Mass.

G. C. ALLEN

Correction

SIR: In the December 16 issue of the *New Republic* the article, "A New Deal with Russia: I," carries a footnote on reverse lend-lease. There reverse lend-lease from the British Empire through September 2, 1945, is represented as \$6,306,250 and that of the USSR as \$2,213,000. The amount of the British Empire reverse lend-lease through above date was \$6,302,149,000.

The above might have been a mere accidental omission of three 000's, but I think it is worth the insertion of this corrected figure.

Washington, D. C.

A. O. SARKISSIAN

YOUR SHARE IN THE COMING DEPRESSION

by Stuart Chase

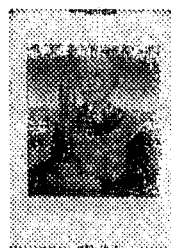
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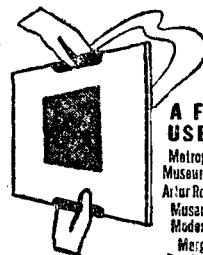
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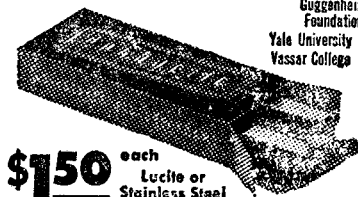
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Movies



Mugging Main Street

FRANK CAPRA, Hollywood's Horatio Alger, fights with more cinematic know-how and zeal than any other director to convince movie audiences that American life is exactly like the *Saturday Evening Post* covers of Norman Rockwell. "It's a Wonderful Life," the latest example of Capracorn, shows his art at a hysterical pitch. Capra's moralizing, which is driven home in films packed with absurdly over-simplified characterizations and unbearable whimsy, is presented with great talent almost wholly through visual detail. It has never been told so frantically as in this expression of how kind, innocent and happy the "little" people are on Main Street.

The postwar Jimmy Stewart looks a shade more mellow and works much harder at his acting, but he's still stuck in "It's a Wonderful Life" with his traditional character grown flat with usage—unassuming, a bit shy, sincere as a Boy Scout, a passionate spokesman for the little people. His George Bailey is a golden-hearted small-town businessman forever thwarted in doing big things by his ties to family and friends. Year after year he scrapes along in the small-town rut he hates, doing a good deed here and a better deed there, selling houses with his golden heart instead of his head.

One day Bedford Falls's meanest man (Lionel Barrymore, who in other years at this time has played Scrooge) steals money for which George is responsible, and George, faced with disgrace, works himself up into a first-class tizzy. His character changes so drastically—he becomes a whimperer, a mean drunk, suicidal—that you wonder where this side of him has been hiding. It seems reasonable to suspect that Jo Swerling, who is credited with doing additional scenes, got in an additional character too. An angel (Henry Travers) comes down, cures Jimmy by showing him the good he did in Bedford Falls, and Jimmy

goes home to find his friends have given him a laundry basket full of dollar bills. Admirers of this honest, hard-working, self-sacrificing character Stewart has played since he left Princeton are going to be uneasy when they see Jimmy's face light up like a Christmas tree at getting all this free dough.

Capra is an old-time movie craftsman, the master of every trick in the bag, and in many ways he is more at home with the medium than any other Hollywood director. But all of his details give the impression of contrived effect.

To make his points he always takes an easy, simple-minded path that doesn't give much credit to the intelligence of the audience. In characterizing the grasping, hateful banker he evades criticism by admitting indirectly that he is painting this hobgoblin with absurdly black strokes, but even a child would find this excuse unpalatable. Capra's attempt to show the town as it would have been if George hadn't been born leads to another hurried, unimaginative simplification. Main Street would be lined with dance halls; its citizens would be greedy and mean; there would be a Negro barrelhouse piano player in George's favorite saloon; the people close to him would be in institutions, in the gutter, under the table, running flophouses. A regiment of good fairies couldn't have worked the wonders in Bedford Falls that George did.

The few unsentimental moments here and there are usually contributed by Stewart. One of these is a scene on a railway platform in which he gets across the pain of his frustration. The charming moments—when he is courting Donna Reed—come off because of his soft-spoken, perfectly timed delivery. The most surprising performance is that of Miss Reed, for her self-possessed dignity and intelligence. There is an army of good supporting players like Frank Albertson, who get nowhere because they have to play such impossible parts.

No one has made a Western recently as good as "The Overlanders," Harry Watt's Australian hell-for-leather movie which uses the technique of the British documentary. Watt made the exceptional "Target for Tonight" early in the war and his new Australian film is in the same informative, somewhat slick, documentary manner.

THE OVERLANDERS" deals with an extraordinary event that took place at the time the Japs were threatening to invade Australia and Aussies in the north were scorching the earth. A small group of cattlemen, made up principally of a Gary Cooperish drover (Chips Rafferty), a baby-faced sailor who has never been on a horse before, a rancher's family and a five-by-five English aristocrat who bounces in the saddle like Humpty-Dumpty, drives 1,000 head of cattle across 1,600 miles of the most dismal wastelands and begins a string of such cattle migrations.

Even if you've been seeing cowboy movies since the days when it cost only a nickel to get into the theatre, you'll find some new thrills in this quietly realistic job. Watt is apt to get a scene too neatly packaged and prettily composed, but he avoids this in one beautifully shot sequence of drovers attempting to turn a herd from stampeding toward a bog. The players are somewhat restrained, but very earthy and real, particularly the cool, hard-riding heroine (Daphne Campbell), who manages to ride a horse well and look glamorous, too.

THE following films were awarded grand prizes at the recent Cannes Film Festival. It's too bad America is seeing so few of them.

Czechoslovakia	Men Without Wings
Denmark	Red Earth
France	Pastoral Symphony
Great Britain	Brief Encounter
Italy	The Open City
India	La Ville Basse
Mexico	Maria Candelaria
Sweden	The Test
Switzerland	The Last Chance
USSR	The Turning Point
United States	The Lost Weekend

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(Continued from page 3)

by. If they did, I'm sure more would learn the same thing I learned. It's not a hard concept to understand. It's so simple they wrote a popular song about it, "Love Thy Neighbor." . . .

It is now 15 months after the defeat of powers that laughed at tolerance and planned to enslave the world by setting one faith against another, one race against another and one nation against another. And what have we? We've made only small, suspicious progress toward international understanding while the world festers with racial and religious discontent, in most cases again fostered by interests that can hold control only by divisionism.

And these divisionistic tactics have even been able to invade the minds of people who think of themselves as liberal and progressive. Many of them, myself included, act largely on emotional impulses. We don't like to see people pushed around. It doesn't matter much to us who is pushing whom. There are people smart enough to take advantage of this weakness in the liberals' thinking and to turn it to their own purposes. These are the people we're going to have to look out for in the years to come.

It was pretty easy to march with the liberals and the progressives in the years of Roosevelt. We knew he wouldn't let us go wrong. Until another leader we can trust, as we trusted him, takes up the fight we like to think of as ours—the fight for tolerance, which is the basis of any fight for peace—it's going to be tough to be a liberal. Because the people who are most tolerant of every other group's weaknesses and mistakes are most intolerant of any within their own ranks.

Even though we all make what are patently errors in thought and action from time to time, let's not let anybody force us to break ranks. Let's, at very least, hold our own line of mutual understanding until we've again found the leadership to give us direction.

May we find it before another December 7 catches up with a world almost oblivious to the fact that only 18 days separate the anniversaries of peace on earth and war on earth.

New York

FRANK SINATRA



New Republic News



Who's Who

AS WE'VE HAD occasion to remark here before, the *NR* is entering this era of its editorial life with a flock of new hands aboard. As a consequence, a considerable part of our time around the table is spent comparing past adventures, checking on mutual acquaintances and confirming our long-held opinion that it is indeed a small world. It occurs to us now that our readers may be interested in learning something from time to time about the men and women who put out the *NR*.

We'll start the portrait collection, logically enough, with the two men most immediately responsible for the magazine that finally comes from the press. Norman Grieser, Managing Editor, has pruned and polished the words you read; Francis Brennan, Executive Editor and now doubling as Art Director, has designed the pages (he completely overhauled the typography of the magazine in a period of about two weeks), selected the art work and put the whole puzzle together. If you don't like the final product, these are the two targets at whom you are asked to fling your arrows.

GRIESER, as a managing editor should, works in his shirt sleeves and thinks by running his fingers through his hair. This gives him a harried expression which produces in the staff the sense of approaching disaster necessary to the morale of a weekly magazine. By training, Grieser is an economist with degrees from DePauw University and the London School of Economics. By experience, he worked for the *Wall Street Journal* in London, was an economist in the OPA and in the Foreign Economic Administration (Henry Wallace was his boss there, too) and a lieutenant (j. g.) with the Seabees in New Guinea and the Admiralty Islands. He lives in an old New York State farmhouse, is married to an English wife and has a four-year-old son and a daughter who was born, symbolically, on December 9,

the day the first Wallace issue went to press.

Francis Brennan, who is never called anything but Hank, has as many magazines in his past as Tommy Manville has wives. He came out of the Middle West by way of the Chicago Art Institute, and at the age of 21 took a job with Condé Nast. In the next few years he worked on *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue*, and in 1933 was sent to London as Art Director of the British *Vogue*. On his return from London, Brennan became successively Art Director of *House and Garden*, Associate Art Director of *Life* and Art Director of *Fortune*. He was pausing there when Pearl Harbor struck.

BRENNAN then moved to Washington and worked out most of the early war posters and publications for the Coordinator of Information (later Office of War Information). He resigned from that post at the time of the famous policy blow-up, went to Hollywood on a special assignment for 20th Century-Fox, but was lured back to the OWI for overseas duty. Brennan's second landing in England was on D-Day plus one, a week before the V-bombs began dropping. He was head of the Anglo-American art department in London (this was the group that produced leaflets, pamphlets, posters, magazines for the Allies and against the enemy nations of the Continent); at the end of a year and a half he moved on to Paris to plan and produce a series of huge exhibitions for the French public. The most spectacular of these, the American Air Forces show, was staged beneath the Eiffel Tower and drew more than three million spectators in 45 days.

On his return to New York, Brennan was engaged by *McCall's* as assistant to the editor and with the major assignment of directing the redesigning of the magazine. That task completed, he came on to the *NR*. This time we hope he plans to stay a while.

Brennan is married and lives in New York.